STUDENT EXPERIENCES OF BETRAYAL IN THE ZEN BUDDHIST TEACHER/STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

by

Caryl Reimer Gopfert

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Transpersonal Psychology

Institute of Transpersonal Psychology Palo Alto, California March 21, 1999.

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Abstract

Student Experiences of Betrayal
in the Zen-Buddhist Teacher/Student Relationship

by

Caryl Reimer Gopfert

This study examines the long-term personal and spiritual effects of betrayal experiences on students and investigates the complexity of teacher/student relationships: issues of power, authority, and idealization influenced by cultural, societal, and familial norms and mores. Using a blend of Organic, Heuristic and Transpersonal (Sympathetic Resonance, Intuitive Inquiry) methods, eight Zen practitioners were interviewed in-depth and their stories with both American and Japanese teachers presented. Interviewees read and responded to each other's stories. Seven sympathetic resonators read and responded to the stories and held a discussion. The researcher responded to the stories, responses, and discussion. Thus there were three rounds of validity checks applying the non-traditional approaches of intuitive inquiry. Affects similar to those of post-traumatic stress were shown (low self-esteem, self-doubt, trust issues). There was general agreement that the potential permanent harm in spiritual betrayals lies in the disruption of personal connection to the Divine. The study describes the dependent co-arising nature of betrayals and the distribution of both responsibility and pain among teacher, student, and community. The ultimate responsibility of teachers is discussed. The

dance between spiritual insight and understanding, and its corresponding "shadow" is depicted. Contributing structural difficulties in Zen practice are defined and discussed. The study suggests areas for change. It also uncovers and illumines the need for a deep, moral shift in attitude effecting how both teachers and practitioners manifest as they live their lives.

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CHAPTER 1

BETRAYAL: AN EXPERIENCE

> The fundamental fact is that I cannot survive unless you do. My self-realization is your self-realization.
> Robert Aitken (1984, p. 19)

The ironing board almost didn't fit. I laid it across the boxes jammed in the back of my small, red Fiat, then pushed down firmly to secure it a place amongst the sheets, books, pots and pans, and clothes. I stepped back and slammed the hatchback down, hearing it click reassuringly. Done. It all fit. Tears welled up in my eyes. I fought them back, pushing down the alternating rage and grief, stuffing both back inside as I had stuffed my belongings into the car, slamming the lid on as I had slammed down the hatchback. How had it come to this? Where would I go now? There was nowhere to return, no place to go, no job, no family, and no longer any welcome here.

There was so much water in my eyes that it was almost impossible to see. I climbed into the car, pulled the door closed and sat there. The keys to Steve's apartment were deposited in the mailbox, the door to the slightly shabby building closed. In a way it was a relief to be done with the severity of it all, with the sterility, the coldness, the impersonality, the dreariness of the apartment and even of the center itself. The apartment was small and dark, the stale smell of Steve's smoking habits still permeating the space tenaciously. Across the street the center rose straight and grey. Long windows let lots of light into those huge rooms

five or six meters high--bright austerity. Everything was clean and orderly, a cool functionality reigned; a permanent echo hung lightly in the halls and stairwells; incense and food smells hung there as well.

The zendo was cheerful, though, large and bright. The sisal floorcovering had its own scent that mingled with that of the sandalwood incense. The simple altar in front of the long wall hanging in mauves, blues, and pinks was adorned with wonderful Ikebana flower arrangements, often mine. The white mats and black zafus marched around the asymmetrical walls and paraded down two rows in the middle. On the other side of the entrance hall with its two gongs, one huge and one small, and the wooden han was the second meditation hall for the zendo overflow. The white wool rug, white zabutons, and black zafus echoed the zendo. About 85 students could sit here at a time. The small dokusan room lay between the two large halls. Everything smelled slightly of incense and sisal. How I loved this place with its own peculiar scent, the big windows, and the big light! *I take refuge in the Sangha*. This was the physical home of the Sangha, and of our practice.

I was about to leave what had been my spiritual home for many years. Though I had decided to leave, it felt more as though I had been kicked out. Kicked out for telling the truth, and because my teacher would not look at his own blind spot. I was stunned by the inability of an "enlightened" (not fully enlightened) teacher to hear the concerns of not only

one, but of numbers of senior students. Neither listening nor discussion was within the realm of possibility. How could this be? Where was beginner's mind? This was not a pattern in our practice community. I was stunned at the treatment I had received for voicing my concerns. Not even mere acquaintances would treat a person this way. I made a very conscious decision to remove myself from this situation quickly. I did not need to stay in a situation which had every indication of worsening and in which I was not being heard. The decision to leave completely without anything settled between the teacher and me, contained the possibility of not being able to come back. *"I take refuge in the Dharma."*

It had begun with a sesshin almost ten years before, but perhaps it had begun even before that, when a former neighbor took me into her living room, sat me down on a wine bottle rolled up in a wool blanket and showed me how to "sit." She intuited that this would be right for me, and how right she was. Here was a formal way of doing what I had done all my life. Then, for seven years, I sat at various places, carefully checking out teachers and sanghas. When I heard about my teacher, I called people I knew who sat with him, got the brochures from the center, called and talked with the office there, and even went to workshops in related things with people who were students of this teacher to check them

out. I liked his senior students. They were solid, well-grounded, and working in the real world. Finally I signed up for sesshin. When I went to my first dokusan with this teacher, the black zafu on the white zabuton, empty in front of him, jumped out at me and my voice said, "That cushion and I have been waiting for each other for a long time!" "Then sit down!" was the reply. So began a long and intimate period of teaching and working together.

This teacher was not perfect. I noted that there was often confusion and consternation among his staff because his organizational skills were lacking. There was an attempt to have a psychologist lead a group process with the center's staff and the teacher, but it was finally given up because of what many on the staff said privately was the unwillingness of the teacher to cooperate--or in today's jargon, his inability to own certain issues. I felt I could acknowledge those weaknesses and at the same time accept the ability of this teacher to guide and support me through the meditation process and my own inner growth, which he did well.

I began to translate articles for him and, as I began to work with them myself, koans. Later, during longer stays at the center, I translated letters that went out internationally and even composed the answers to his incoming mail, laying them on his desk for approval and signature. Sometimes he asked my opinions on articles he had read or written. There were others, too, who worked closely with him. There was no

rivalry or infighting for the teacher's attention or for "position." One day in dokusan he asked me if I would like to teach zazen myself one day. The question took me by surprise although I had had the thought myself. I answered with a quiet but firm "Yes!" I was awed, but I knew in my bones that this was right.

Sometimes in dokusan it felt as if a non-verbal "transmission" was taking place. I would look at the teacher and suddenly there was no teacher and no student and nothing to be learned or known, just knowing happening. The two of us seemed one with each other and with the One. Then, there was no difference. This is not to be confused with the psychological issue of "boundaries" and getting your own self mixed up with "the other." This is especially important to note here because it may be the reason that the subsequent betrayal of trust/friendship/intimacy was so injurious and wounding. Bit by bit "I" felt "myself" changing, on a deep, cellular(?) level, heart/essence level changing, changing, changing.

Several times I spent three months at the center as a long-term guest. At the time of my first visit, a woman appeared as a guest. She was extremely depressed, suicidal. She sat huddled in the zendo, wrapped in blankets. She was, perhaps, in spiritual emergence and in a state of regression, often acting quite childlike and naive. Her stay lengthened. Over a period of two or three years, as I came and went, I

listened to other guests and staff talk about how this woman was shedding her "child" and growing up. Indeed she was growing up. I watched the emergence of an accompanying shadow side. I watched as she manipulated behind the scenes and managed to rid the center of every powerful woman, especially those with position. She ingratiated herself with the men who ran the building and the grounds. The long time assistant teacher at the center was forced to leave because life became so unbearable for her.

By then I had separated from my husband and the teacher suggested I come to the center and continue my koan work more consistently. I rented a place across the street so as to stay out of the workings of the center itself. The apartment belonged to a long-time assistant teacher who was off in another city doing his own thing and not planning to return to the center in the immediate future. He let it to me cheap and furnished.

After moving in, I continued working on koans. I translated and took care of much of the mail, assisted in sesshins, greeted English speaking guests at the center, and was often invited to evening get-togethers with the teacher, other teachers and guests. I worked quietly and took breakfast at the center. Students and long-term guests came to me for advice and guidance, or simply to talk and share. Because of the translation work, I had unlimited access to the teacher during the morning work period and this had always

been the case when I had done work for him. Any student could come and knock on his door, especially during the work period. Suddenly signs appeared on his door, not to be disturbed, teacher was resting or busy. More and more often, when no sign was on the door, the aforementioned woman would be in the teacher's study. Seldom could anyone see him alone anymore, except in dokusan.

For a long time my teacher had wanted me to visit another teacher who lived abroad. Things had been arranged and I was expected at that center later in the year to complete my koan work.

Meanwhile, I became more and more involved with the local members of the sangha, and the teacher asked me to be their contact person, and to help organize their members. Accordingly I made up flyers inviting them to a discussion evening, showed the flyers to the teacher for approval, and posted them around the sprawling center. On the appointed evening about 80 people showed up. I had opened the meeting, and the teacher was sitting up front with me, when the woman came in and immediately took the floor, castigating me in front of everyone for not going through the proper channels to arrange for the use of this meeting room, for going over the head of the person in charge of the building usage and thereby humiliating him. I was astonished, as our teacher had approved the time and place fixed on the flyer and had given me the go ahead. I expected him to stand up and speak out,

but he remained silent. The venomous attack hung in the air for several minutes. Then an acquaintance of mine, a psychologist, stood up and said something which dispelled the escalating discomfort and allowed people to relax.

The next day I went to dokusan, the only place it was possible to meet with the teacher privately anymore, and said that I would continue to work with him in such things only if he supported me and owned his part in such situations. He could not see that anything had taken place.

Several other, less public but similar situations involving this woman took place not only with me, but also with others. Then, one night, after 10 o'clock when everyone was usually in their rooms, I went into the dining hall to pick up some bottled water. The teacher was away for a conference and the woman was gone the same week for a workshop. As I headed into the dining hall, someone unlocked and opened the door from the garden; the teacher came dashing in and walked swiftly to the stairwell. He had to go right by me. He looked very surprised, nodded and disappeared, mumbling something about picking up his mail before continuing on to some other conference. It was rather strange somehow.

I went into the hall, picked up my water, and was coming out of the dining hall when the door to the garden opened again and in rushed the woman. Seeing me, she stopped momentarily, said something about having to pick up some pieces of clothing before heading off for her vacation. She

quickly disappeared toward her room. I had to go through the garden to get to my apartment. The teacher's car was parked outside. In the morning they were both gone, as was the car. No one else in the center was any the wiser that they had come and gone together in the night except me.

As the days and weeks went by, the woman knew many things in advance--well before the staff and assistants. She (mis)used that knowledge to gain power at the center, and when the teacher was away, she began to command the troops so to speak, laying down laws and demanding things of people. People then came to me, asking what they should do. I told them that the woman had no say in the running of the center. They should follow either what the teacher had told them or their conscience. They could speak to the teacher about the situation when he returned.

One night I was sitting on a very slow-moving dokusan line. The teacher always took everyone on the line, even if the evening sitting was over and people had gone home. I was the last one on the line this particular evening. The student before me came out and closed the door. Before I could get up, the teacher flew out of the dokusan room, ran by me totally distraught and called out, "Come tomorrow. I forgot. I'm late!" Again I was taken aback. What kind of behavior was this? To leave a student sitting on the dokusan line? The next day it turned out that he had agreed to be at some function with the woman and had forgotten their "date"!

For some, the teacher's behavior was beginning to raise questions. It became increasingly difficult for him to make any decision without the woman's involvement. Decisions he made with staff and students were often reversed or changed without their knowledge when he met subsequently with her. The relationship with this woman slowly affected the teacher's relationships with those running the daily affairs of the sangha and with his most senior students. Finally I decided to speak up. I tried unsuccessfully to gain access to the teacher's living quarters to speak with him privately, but I could not get time alone with him. I felt the dokusan was not the right place for this discussion because it needed too much time. The teacher was about to go on a two-week vacation, so I decided to write him a letter.

It took a very long time to compose and re-compose that letter! I realized that some of my concern was really attachment to how "things should be done," but there was concern about right action, right speech and non-harming; I was aware of compassion in my action. I thought to recognize a certain fragility in the woman's mental state and felt that if she were "rejected" at some point, she might "do something" to herself or ruin the teacher's reputation by going public. After all, he had taken a vow of celibacy and the sangha felt that he observed it. What if a scandal broke? What would that do to the work of the center, the teacher's long efforts?

My relationship with the teacher was being sorely tried.

Sometimes it felt as if he were not truly present in dokusan--for me and possibly not for others. What part of this could be jealousy or resentment on my part? (I am well aware in writing this that it could feel to some readers like a classic case of "sour grapes"! It was not.) Was this only a test of ego, and should I drop the matter, concentrate more on my practice? After the letter was done, I passed it to two other senior students for their input and reactions. They encouraged me to send it, made some suggestions. Here, in essence, is what it said.

There was the assurance that a relationship with a woman, was not a source of contention. My concern was that the relationship with this particular woman was disturbing the communications and relationships between the teacher and the staff, the senior students, the long-term guests, the sangha, and me. I reminded the teacher of the woman's delicate emotional state and suggested that she had difficulty with the power she possessed simply by her proximity to him personally, his agenda, thoughts, and ideas. Whereas these were previously shared among several or many, this woman had successfully isolated him from the rest of us. I suggested that she also used her influence inappropriately at the center and caused tension among those who lived there. The letter asked that he consider the possibility of her living off the premises to prevent her from personally influencing the day to day running of the place. It suggested the dangers of a

secret relationship and possible repercussions on the sangha. I also expressed concern about the fact that he had asked me to do very specific jobs which he had then delegated to several other people without telling any of us that the others were involved. This was indicative of the way many things were run and caused confusion and resentment between those working on projects. I asked if we could talk about these things.

Days went by after the letter was delivered. Nothing. Then, in dokusan, I asked if he had read my letter. "Yes." What he thought, then? "Projection!" he said in a raised voice and bade me leave with an energetic wave of his arm. I left empty-handed, so to speak, and that is the way things remained.

Mornings, when I turned up at my desk at the center, there was no longer any work to take care of. When the current translation was done, no other appeared to take its place. Different guests came and went, I was not invited to the little talks or evening get-togethers. The new assignments that had been offered me for the coming summer were suddenly withdrawn. The list for assisting up-coming sesshins was handed to me to sign up--there was one empty space for a weekend zazenkai; every other space was filled with the name of the woman, who was not even a zen student at that time.

I went for a long walk with the teacher and tried to talk with him. He said nothing had changed between us, nothing had really happened. He refused to talk about the woman. He said I must really be dissatisfied with him to complain about so many things. I was seeing things and projecting things. In the course of several weeks I tried a number of times to talk with him not only about the letter, but about the awkward tension between the two of us. Finally, in dokusan, when he again hid behind projection, I suggested that I was not projecting--no translations were on my desk, it was a fact. That only one person was assigned to assist in the next period of sesshins was a fact. That I was not invited to meet recent guests was a fact, not a projection. I said it felt very much like he was saying, "If you're not a good girl, I'm not going to love you!" There was no response from him at all, and I left the dokusan. The next day a small translation lay on my desk.

During retreats the long-term guests, staff, and local sangha members sat in the zendo over-flow room where all could go to dokusan. There had been talk of moving the local people into a third room where they would be excluded from the retreats because there was so much coming and going in their ranks and also because the space was needed for retreatants. The issue was unresolved as there was so much controversy about it. One day at breakfast a piece of paper with a note on it was lying on the table to be passed around. This type

of communication was used to inform live-in members of the community about important things when we were in silence. This day we were not in silence. The note said that effective immediately all staff and long-term guests were to remove their zafus from the zendo area and place them in a third room. Everyone would now sit there permanently. This includes Caryl Goepfert! Underlined! I was the only one mentioned by name. It felt as though the teacher were willing to sacrifice the whole local sangha's, the staff's and the long-term guests' access to him in order to get me out of the zendo. The new rule would effectively keep me from doing any koan work except on non-retreat days, which were very few. This had been the reason for my coming to the center--to work closely with the teacher. It would also eliminate me from taking part in sesshins, and I had been eliminated as an assistant.

While the wall between us was going up, the wall between eastern and western Europe was coming down. Masses of people were moving westward. As a result, apartments, which are always much harder to come by in Europe than they are in the States, were impossible to come by and rents were sky-rocketing. One weekend Steve and I spoke on the phone. He assured me that he would not be needing his apartment any time soon and I was welcome to stay as long as I wanted. This was good news; I couldn't have afforded any other place even if I were able to find one. Monday morning in dokusan the teacher

said, "I hear your apartment is shaky!" I asked him what he meant by that and he replied that Steve wanted to rent his apartment to the Zen center. The center needed to have its financial consultant in close proximity to help in the process of buying and renovating a piece of property out in the country. Well, I said, I had talked to Steve the day before and was told that I could stay as long as I needed. Obviously Steve and the teacher had had a subsequent conversation!

The message was clear. The teacher did not want my presence at the center, was not willing to ask me to leave openly, was manipulating behind the scenes to make it impossible for me to stay. It felt as though he did not care if I were physically homeless or if I were in spiritual crisis as long as he could continue unthreatened in his relationship with the woman. Did he value our long and intimate relationship at all? What was his commitment to guiding me through to teach? He had assured me that the center would always be home when I got into difficulty, especially while separating from my husband and finding my "niche." (My husband at this time was in a manic phase and was threatening and harassing me. I was in a vulnerable spot.) I could not believe that day after day the teacher spent time thinking of ways to make my stay so uncomfortable that I would leave; that he would even pull the apartment out from under me.

After all the assurances of refuge, after the trust I had placed in him and which he had shown me through the years by

the work he had given me, the guidance in practice, and the training to teach--after all that, how could he behave like this? I trusted him more than I had trusted my parents when I was a child--more than my husband. The situation was more painful than my marital separation.

The most devastating thing for me was the personal breach of trust, what felt like the total disregard for my safety and process, the lack of trust in my understanding and perception, and, most of all, the teacher's unwillingness to question his own side of the "projection," to practice beginner's mind. Although I could hold the paradox of "good teacher/bad teacher," somehow on this very personal level when the threat of nowhere to live came together with the loss of my home and family and the loss of both my spiritual guidance and what was to have been my life's work, it got too big to hold.

Faith in my teacher and in the practice were shaken, but faith in myself was still intact. I had not yet abandoned myself. *I take refuge in the Buddha.*

Legally I could have stayed in the apartment but I was moving out. Wiping tears away, I drove the packed car to a friend's house. A few days later I boarded a flight for the long-arranged eight-week stay with Roshi. My agitation was evident to him, so I tried to explain. Things were so nebulous. How to explain the feelings of betrayal and

confusion when there was so little concrete "evidence"? Immediately Roshi jumped to the conclusion that I had been sexually involved with my teacher. That frightened me. I did not want unwarranted suspicions falling on the sangha nor on the teacher. I denied the allegations, instead of explaining, I backed off and declined to speak about it any more. But my ability to trust Roshi was already shaken. This was compounded toward the end of my stay by a strange coincidence. While talking to Roshi one day, I said that I had sat most of the time in shikantaza, a particular meditation practice. I knew that this was rather unorthodox when practicing koans, but I had yet to find out how unorthodox! Roshi maintained that it was impossible to experience kensho (a sudden "enlightenment" experience) if one was not consistently sitting Mu, another type of practice! My confusion mounted. The way my teacher had guided me felt right, yet here was a well-known teacher expressing doubt and displeasure. I knew what I had experienced. Roshi took me through the checking koans again and then my eight weeks were up.

There was no place to go back to, so I went to friends in Vermont and "broke down." I could not make any decisions about my life; I could not even decide what country to live in. I stayed for two months, began therapy, and signed up to do an M.A. program in counseling, still thinking that if I were ever to teach zazen--which looked pretty remote--I had better understand more about the psychological workings of the

mind than my teachers had. And more about my own to boot! I had always been interested in psychology, perhaps this was a venue to a new profession. I continued myself in therapy.

The next summer I returned to Roshi. Instead of continuing with the last set of koans, he gave me various other koans. Something <u>had</u> to be missing in my "experience," he said. I got stubborn and resentful. I began to give "wrong" answers, ridiculous answers to the koans. If he thought something was missing, I was willing to let him think it. When he asked me to describe my "experience," I told him something else. If he were so suspicious or unwilling to think that one could have kensho without sitting Mu, I was not about to throw this precious thing before his doubting mind. I began to doubt my own practice. If I were practicing deeply enough, how could all this ego stuff play such a destructive part? Perhaps I didn't measure up. But I knew what I knew.

I was undermining my practice, not supporting my truth or standing up for myself. Two massive male confrontations were too much. What power I now gave up to Roshi. Perhaps my teacher had made a mistake about me; after all, he surely had some misperceptions about this woman! Faith in myself began to crumble.

A new scenario developed. Numbers of students were complaining of Roshi's attitude about women. He was also having a problem with a senior student about to receive transmission. The problem seemed to center around women,

traditions and ritual. There was a big discussion held in front of the sangha. It felt very painful for Roshi, for the student and for the sangha members. It was extremely painful for me--another example, it seemed, of the inability of teachers and students to iron out differences.

Unfortunately, I left at the end of that second stay without speaking to Roshi about anything. Left with a heavy heart. Left with doubt about the whole idea of teachers and students. Left with doubts about sangha. Left doubting myself. My self-confidence was at an all-time low.

I felt numbed. Conversely I was proud of myself for having gotten myself out of the first situation in quick time. I was proud of myself for having spoken up about a difficult situation and for naming the truth. But I also felt confused, and made "wrong." My self-esteem had plummeted. It felt impossible to do anything, impossible to make any decision about anything. Worst of all, I had lost my voice. It seemed as though I could not entrust my perceptions to anyone. I could not have enough information about anything, or care passionately enough about anything, to just put out what I knew. I became very defended and unsure about verbalizing anything I saw or understood. My whole posture changed, my shoulders rounded and I hunched over. I felt closed and tight.

Depression set in. I had no long-term goal anymore. I certainly could not teach zazen--who would give me

transmission? I vacillated between believing I wasn't up to snuff anyway, and knowing I was, hoping that maybe I could teach. Perhaps all was not lost with my teacher. There were the very last koans to go through and I wanted so much to complete them. They deepened the heart of the practice. Where could I do them? A funny thing happened. It was impossible for me to sit! I, who had taken to sitting like a duck to water, could not keep myself on the zafu for five minutes! I would practice when chopping vegetables, practice when driving, practice when walking, when ironing, when washing dishes, but the cushion was impossible. I avoided Zen centers and Zen teachers.

Each summer I returned to Europe and spent several weeks at the old center. My teacher talked as if nothing had happened between us, but for me the easy familiarity was gone. I had asked the teacher if he would take me through the remaining koans and if he still considered me his student. I wanted so much to complete them. I longed to settle into my practice again. Long, silent days of sitting and work practice would be helpful. Somewhere in the back of my mind the thought of teaching lingered and the best bet for permission to teach still lay with my teacher.

I felt I had made an unfortunate mess with Roshi and I had no heart to go back and try to right things. I no longer had the self-confidence it would have taken. In this way I

effectively sabotaged my own work with a respected teacher. I abandoned myself. Perhaps this was the ultimate betrayal.

The summer before I was graduated, I finished with koans. It was still impossible to speak with the teacher about our issues. I would have wondered whether I had dreamed it all up except that something confirmed it for me. At the time I had left the center, another woman was about to move directly onto the premises and become a live-in assistant teacher. Eva and I were dharma sisters. I was not sure how much to say, yet I had to warn her about what was happening.

Eva was giving up an apartment, a private practice, and a community of friends and family to come and live at the center. I tried to talk to her, suggesting that there was room for only one woman-of-the-house at the center and that she should look at what had happened to the assistant before her. I tried to tell her about my situation, but she would not hear it. Perhaps she wanted too much for everything to be right because she wanted so much to be doing what was offered to her. Eva had been paying the price ever since she had moved to the center. The woman had manipulated the teacher and the staff at the center, overturned decisions, bad-mouthed Eva (as she had me, as I now found out, to my surprise! Imagine that I had never imagined that!), and made Eva's life hell. The teacher sided continually with the woman and never tried to deal openly and honestly with Eva about their differences or about the workings of the center. Eva's sphere

of influence was constantly being threatened or curtailed. She received little on-going support from the teacher.

Listening to Eva's stories, seeing her pain, validated my own experience. I encouraged her to leave, but that was difficult. She was just starting to teach. Where would she hold sesshins? Would students follow her or stay with the center? She had no apartment to move to. She was in a bind. She had no job and no income. At the center she received rooms and board in return for assisting. This painted an even worse picture of the teacher. Eva was one of only two people who had gotten full permission to teach. She was one of his "beloved students," one who fit into the line of transmission, with whom he felt a continuity of thought/being. How could he treat her this way?

I watched from the side-lines as Eva suffered. If she would come forward and speak to the sangha, I said I would come and tell my story also, to back her up. She would not go public. It was time to return for the last two semesters of my degree program. With a heavy heart around the escalating circumstances at the center I gave up hope of ever teaching. I did not know if the relationship with my teacher would ever right itself.

The following summer I received the MA and started a year of intense therapy, which forced me into the "Dark Night of the Soul" written about by St. John of the Cross. There was nothing left of what had defined me. In the realm of the

Absolute it was very clear: I knew who I was; or wasn't. In the "Real," the reality of this world, I was no longer a mother (the children were almost 30), I was no longer a wife (we had filed for divorce), I was no longer a student (the degree had been earned), I was no longer a child (my parents had both died), I was no longer a teacher (I had given up an exciting teaching job to go to the center), I was not European and no longer American, I no longer had the position in society that belonged to my life in Europe, everything had dissolved around me in the material world. My Zen practice seemed up for grabs.

I began to do Tibetan tonglen practice and Vipassana loving-kindness. Again I was having trouble sitting on the cushion, and this was a way of at least getting into the formal pose and wrapping my "mind" around a practice. My heart felt closed and tight.

Finally I stopped trying to find a link between possible childhood betrayal or pathologies and this situation. I listened to the therapist when he suggested that possibly, just possibly, despite my own weaknesses, I had been in the wrong place at the wrong time. The teacher's unresolved issues caused him to react in a way that would have taken the healthiest person by surprise. It was not the surprise so much as the response to the surprise that became important. This brought some measure of peace. My formal practice began to take shape again, slowly.

Healing continued en route to the west coast and a Ph.D. program. The red earth of numerous canyons in the great American west seemed to rebirth me again and again as I drove through them. Getting more in touch with the feminine, with the earth, began to be part of the healing. Perhaps this was part of the learning. Despite the generous space my teacher provided for the feminine aspect of the Divine, Zen practice can be carried out in a very masculine fashion. A kind of competition can creep into koan practice, even if it is only with oneself. Ph.D. classes in women's spirituality and in creativity fostered the contact to the feminine aspect of myself. I began looking at Vipassana practice, with its compassionate quality, more seriously although I sat weekly at a small Zen center near my home. I gave up on the thought of teaching Zazen.

Two years had passed and it was time to visit "home" in Europe. I had been in continuing touch with my teacher. I planned a three week stay at the zen center to sit retreats and reconnect with some of my sangha friends. During this period I reviewed major koans with the teacher; we had long discussions about the meaning and process of practice. One day in dokusan he said he wanted to give me transmission and did I still want to teach? My surprise was complete.

True, that sense of being in complete agreement or understanding at an essential level had been very strong these past weeks. What I had valued and respected in my teacher was

evident and existed side by side with the wounding behavior. The sense of gratitude that I had always felt for the practice and for the teacher returned. I felt stronger and more "integrated," but I still had questions about my own character. What was my role/responsibility in all this? What did it say about me that I returned to this same teacher? Was I using him to get permission to teach? How much did I respect him? How indicative was the painful maneuvering and manipulation I had witnessed and experienced of the Zen world in general? Did I want to stay in the Zen world at all? And, how did I want to stay in it?

At any rate, it was becoming clear to me that numbers of students in centers in many countries were being wounded by experiences with their teachers. Some teachers had done enormous damage to students and sanghas, betraying themselves, the students, and ultimately the practice itself. The Zen community needed to look at this phenomenon, to acknowledge this wounding. We were/are all in this together.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION

Awareness is the beginning of right action.
Robert Aitken (1984, p. 25)

Statement of Topic

The story you have just read is my own. This extraordinarily painful experience has been one of my most profound teachings and one of the most life-changing in terms of self-understanding and inner process. It has led me to investigate not only the qualities and characteristics of my own identity, but also those of Zen (spiritual) teachers and of the teacher/student relationship. Wide-ranging life choices and relationships, even the choice of a dissertation topic have also been influenced. My spiritual practice, too, has changed.

This dissertation investigates the effects on students of Zen-Buddhism of feeling betrayed by their teachers. It would seem to me, and also others (Birner, 1992; Hillman, 1965), that betrayal is a universal experience and rather a common one at that. In one form or another we have probably all "suffered" betrayal, from the broken promises of parents or friends to the infidelities of partners; from innocent forgetfulness to contrived deception; whether personal, societal, cultural, or political - behaviors that have hurt and shocked us (Birner, 1987; Lander & Nahon, 1992; Miller, 1981; Mulder, 1975). Literature through the ages, movies, and

modern-day "soaps" present us with stories of personal, political, and societal betrayal.

For all that betrayal is a recurring theme in our lives, there has been noticeably little direct research done on the subject. Linenberg (1990) in his dissertation on betrayal suggests two feasible reasons for this lack. "In traditional psychology research, ethical considerations preclude studies involving actually betraying a research subject, unless 'betrayal' were operationally defined in such a way that it was researchable, yet no longer actual betrayal" (p. 1). Second, Linenberg points out that by definition interpersonal betrayal "...presupposes an intimate trusting relationship..." which "...would be difficult to 'create' in an experimental setting" (Linenberg, 1990, p. 2). It would be impossible to re-create the teacher/student relationship in Zen-Buddhism in a "laboratory," let alone the conditions of betrayal. Our best chance of understanding the phenomenon is to look systematically at various experiences of it as they occur in everyday life situations. This study looks closely at the effects of betrayal within the context of this specific relationship and also at the relationship itself.

Using an organic/heuristic approach informed by transpersonal methods, eight students and teachers who have been students were interviewed. Heuristic approaches are more familiar in the world of research; Organic methods are new and they will be presented in detail in the methodology chapter.

Organic methodology uses story to investigate the topic. It seeks to engage both the participant/story-teller and the reader in the analysis of the data, and it hopes for transformative change in both participant and reader as well as the researcher. In this study, participants' stories trace the psychological, emotional, and spiritual development and repercussions of their feeling betrayed. The stories present an intimate and personal picture of human process in an area of Zen practice that has scarcely been acknowledged, let alone illuminated. Using the method of "sympathetic resonance" (explained fully in the methodology chapter), another eight people reflected on the original stories and then got together to discuss their thoughts and ideas on the subject of teacher/student betrayals. This elicited new perspectives on teacher/student/sangha relationships, as well as insights on both "preventative" and healing procedures for consideration by spiritual practice communities. (A glossary of Zen-specific words may be found as Appendix J.)

Purpose and Significance

This dissertation is my re-found voice once silenced by personal experience of betrayal, blended with the voices of those similarly betrayed. In my opinion, voices are meant to be heard. Our voices, alone and together, have something of value that wants to be shared. This work is, then, important to me personally, professionally and, in a wider context, communally. It is a way of understanding my own process more

deeply, a transformative (and informative) process contributing to the understanding of those in the Zen community specifically, and of those interested in spiritual practice in general. Participants in this study may also experience transformative change, understanding their experience more fully and drawing meaning from both the experience and the process of participating. I also hope for transformative effects in the reader of this study, through insight, empathy, and understanding.

Professionally, this work helps me to understand those whom I may teach, and myself in the role of teacher. It may be helpful to both spiritual teachers and therapists in understanding what sets the experience of spiritual betrayal in motion, and the nature of what is set in motion by it. This is achieved through the intimacy and immediacy of events as articulated and revealed through these personal stories.

Last, though not least, the effects of this work on the Zen community, and spiritual communities generally, could be considerable. With the exception of recent revelations of and subsequent inquiries into sexual misconduct, there has been hardly any investigation at all into the area of teacher/ student betrayals in the Zen community. This study is significant with its unique and innovative inquiry. It looks at more "dramatic" experiences of betrayal, at students whose lives have been disrupted and where the after effects of betrayal have made themselves deeply felt. It is not an in-

depth study of the clinical pathologies/profiles of teachers or students. It does not address teachers who may have felt betrayed by their students or the personal process of those teachers who have been in the role of the betrayer.

Awareness and compassion around issues of betrayal must be deepened and broadened, from the perspective of teachers, students, and communities. We cannot go on harming students and still have a viable practice; we must understand and prevent the causes of this experience--as far as is possible--and also identify and heal the experience of betrayal once it occurs. This work is a gift to the community I have grown to love and appreciate even more in the years it has taken to recover from my own experience.

Most importantly, this study assumes no blame. It seeks to broaden awareness and better illumine a shadowy area in spiritual experience for which everyone individually, both teacher and student, and collectively as members of sanghas [spiritual communities] must take responsibility, though ultimately, most participants agree, the responsibility lies with the teacher.

Research Questions

The individual stories are pieces of the larger picture of what happens to a student who has experienced betrayal. Specifically this study reveals: first, what happens to the student spiritually/emotionally--in the relationship to the practice, teacher, and spiritual community; second, what

happens to the student's relationship to life in the aftermath of the experience; third, what happens to the student's sense of self or self-image; and fourth, what sense or meaning the student was able to make of the experience.

Definition of Betrayal

It is important at the outset to define closely the nature of betrayal as used in this study. Betrayal lies not only in the overt breaking of ethical standards, but also in the destruction or damaging of the trust implicit in intimate relationships. Beginning at the level of everyday experience, *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, (1953), defines betrayal as proving faithless or treacherous as to a trust or one who trusts; as failing or deserting in a moment of need. Betrayal is inherent in every relationship involving trust. James Hillman (1965) in his article "Betrayal" maintains that we are betrayed in those relationships where primal trust is possible, and that we are truly betrayed only in those relationships where we can truly trust. Indeed, "You cannot have trust without the possibility of betrayal" (p. 60).

Intimate relationships where we truly trust are moral in nature, thus betrayal is also a term of moral consequence. Betrayal "...is commonly understood as a phenomenon internal to an existing relationship whose terms are moral in nature" (Vice, 1992, p. 53). Lander and Nahon consider the "moral contract of loyalty to treat the client with human dignity, and to offer a treatment which will enhance the client's

personal empowerment" to be the basis of the relationship of sacred trust in which "covert and insidious betrayal" takes place in therapy (1992, p. 114). When the trust invested in someone with whom we have a personal relationship is violated, we feel betrayed. No law need be broken, no ethical standard undone; it is the breach of trust that shocks and traumatizes. Depending on the degree of trust invested, the sense of betrayal may increase exponentially.

The violation of trust can take many different forms within the trust relationship, from more overt betrayals related to sexual or financial misconduct to more covert betrayals related to confidentiality or simply not being present to personal process. Bugental and Bradford (1992) maintain betrayal can be as simple as failing to support someone, or withdrawing support when it is still needed. Betrayal becomes "a failure in the interpersonal, or inter-subjective, relation between therapist and client" (p. 3). Although deeper trust and levels of intimacy in a relationship might suggest a more devastating experience of betrayal, Bugental and Bradford (1992) contend "the gravity of the violation is less dependent on the objective act than it is on the subjective impact of a betrayal" (p. 4). How the betrayal is experienced becomes of utmost importance, then, in the repercussions it has on lives.

The teacher/student relationship in Zen-Buddhism is not that of therapist/client, but it *is* an inter-subjective

relationship with an implicit moral character; as students, we enter it as a sacred trust, a relationship where primal trust is encouraged and developed. Indeed, trust is required of us to allow ourselves to be led through a spiritual maze fraught with moral uncertainty, emotional chaos, and value changes by a teacher who is expected to be (and is often represented as) a benefactor, one who has our best interest at heart. The teacher/student relationship is the crucible in which the student attempts to unfold her/his potential as a human being, trusting the teacher's dedication to her/his individual process of self(Self)-realization.

The student trusts the teacher to do her/him no harm, to be honest and compassionate, to teach and to model the teachings, to be present to his/her inner process, and not to use students to take care of the teacher's needs. The student trusts the teacher will neither exhibit nor demand of the student behaviors that violate the spirit of the precepts. These may vary slightly from one Zen school or center to another, but always cover no wrong use of sex, alcohol, or drugs; no wrong use of speech; no stealing; no killing.

We must recognize that the student trusts not only the teacher as a person, but also the "office" or "position" of teacher within a tradition. The teacher has the power of "expertise" in addition to the "legitimate" power of the office (French & Raven, 1965, pp. 140-143). If that were not enough, the teacher also has the power given, often

nonverbally, even unconsciously but consensually, by the group or community. Betrayal may therefore shake not only the core of basic interpersonal trust, but also the trust in the institution, the practice, and/or basic trust in the communal. If we include the fact that for a time the teacher is the recipient of the trust the student invests in the Divine Order of things, the magnitude of betrayal in the spiritual realm becomes evident.

Here in the aspect of the student experiencing the teacher as faithless or treacherous in regards to the trust the student has placed in him/her both personally and as the representative of the office of teacher, lies the crux of the definition of betrayal as used in this dissertation. Whether that breach of trust occurs in a financial realm, in sexual misconduct, in inattentiveness to the process of realization of potential, or in taking advantage of a student's abilities or connections does not matter. Whether or not the teacher views the incident as betrayal is unimportant to the definition; it is the student's experience that defines the betrayal.

For example, I trusted my teacher to guide me in the practice of zazen to the realization of things as they are. I trusted him for support through the process of integrating both the more difficult parts of my self and those wonderful, unappreciated and often still undeveloped parts of myself, which were revealed through practice. Just as I was beginning

to sense the enormous energy and empowerment of creative action--in his (and my) validating, acknowledging, accepting, and using my meditative insight, people skills, and teaching abilities--he withdrew his support and encouragement. Not only did that interrupt my process and learning, but his behavior towards me and how he was comporting himself otherwise violated the precepts of no harming, no wrong use of sex, and right speech. This shook my belief not only in myself, but in the wisdom of the teacher, and in the practice with which I had been becoming ever more intimate. When he negated my experience, I felt disrespected; when he withdrew his friendship and the work he had given me, I experienced abandonment.

Here are some further examples. A student who had worked for years in one of the small businesses that a large Zen center had set up to make money for the center felt exploited, deceived, and betrayed when it was revealed that large sums of the center's money were being used for funding private needs of the teacher that seemed excessive such as large, expensive cars, a very big, new home, and expensive, extended family vacations. The years of hard work and long hours had not felt exploitive until the deception came to light. At another center a student felt abandoned and exploited when, after long years of living on the premises and devoting his life to the center's expansion and to living out the precepts, he became older and was asked to leave. He realized that because he had

not been paid and so had not contributed to social security, he was ineligible for health care or pension when he reached retirement. As he felt there had been an unwritten understanding that he could live out his days working for the center and they would care for him if needed, his trust in the teacher and the practice was destroyed when the teacher did not insist on his behalf. Still another student felt obligated to become sexually intimate with the teacher when it was asked of her. After the fact, she felt betrayed when the intimated spiritual growth was not forthcoming and she consequently discovered that the teacher had not had a special relationship with her at all, but had been having sexual relationships with many students, in effect using students for his own needs.

So we see that violating, betraying, the student's trust can take many different forms. It can also be found in a series of subtle and seemingly "minor" misbehaviors that in toto become a violation of trust. Violations of process are the most difficult to recognize. These occur when teachers are not attentive to the psychological/emotional process of the student and interrupt it by attending to their own needs first, or simply by being oblivious to the support a student may need. To honor both the student's trust and the life of his/her process is to honor the first Buddhist precept of non-harming; to support life (or no killing). To abuse trust, to cut off the life-expanding process is harming. Often neither

teacher nor student is aware of this in the moment; it can be more easily seen after the fact.

I will now introduce some personal notes. This format will be used throughout--the italicized sections reflect ways in which the dissertation topic is interwoven with my personal experience while in the process of writing this dissertation.

While I am researching and writing this dissertation, I go to visit an old friend who has been diagnosed with ovarian cancer. The prognosis is very bad and I want to help, offer support as she goes through chemotherapy--have some good days with her while she is still up and about. She has put out a call to the Universe; she wants to do some healing work, not looking for a cure, but a healing. Out of the blue comes a telephone call from a woman who says she heard the intention and is travelling across country to stay with my friend for as long as she is needed. By the time I arrive, the healer has just settled in. I watch the two of them, my old friend and the healer, and see my dissertation unfolding in front of my eyes. It is not a teacher/student relationship in the Zen tradition, but a similar dynamic is happening. My friend is looking to someone older, wiser, with some kind of healing power to guide and support her, help her find clarity. Day by day the healer pushes my friend to her emotional/psychological limit, until my friend is exhausted. She is not sitting sesshin, not working on koans, but she is intent on "trying"

and understanding. The healer continually confounds my friend, seeing through psychological process with the accuracy of a laser beam. The healer calls my friend on behavior patterns and on what my friend says. Nothing my friend does makes sense to her any more. Nothing she says is accurate; no behavior acceptable. I watch. Every time my friend says or does something that does not "match" her emotional state at the moment, the healer calls her on it. I have never seen anyone so clear; so intent on mirroring, letting nothing escape; anyone so unconcerned about what others think. The woman has had a near-death experience that has left her with extraordinary clarity. She talks about the essence of things, about Emptiness, the Real and the Absolute. She makes perfect sense. She is both loonier and saner than anyone I've met. Is she badgering my friend unmercifully or pushing her to the brink of understanding? I talk to the healer about the fine line between enough pushing and abuse. She says she is dancing on the line, my friend doesn't have tonsillitis!! I am not entirely convinced.

My friend's strength is down, but her defenses are still up. She complains the healer is unkind, not compassionate, picks on her constantly. My friend wants someone kind, loving, and supportive. She feels abused, feels she can't do anything right, feels like "shit." Betrayed. My friend asks my opinion. I reply that the healer is saner and crazier than anyone I have met. If my friend is feeling abused, she might

say so and stand up for herself. If she wants the woman to leave, I will support her. But I cannot disagree with a word the healer says. If my friend does not want to spend her last weeks and months working this way, she could decide to do something else. In any case, to rail against the healer and fight her at every step could be making my friend sicker. She must decide whether to trust the healer and "go for it" or send her packing. Either way, it must be her own choice. Or do I need to step in and rescue my friend? When is a situation abusive, a betrayal? Only when the person involved feels abused or betrayed? Who decides what is right action, right behavior? Who decides when behavior is harmful? What is right action when we observe questionable behavior?

CHAPTER 3

BETRAYAL: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Carelessness with precious things is a kind of stealing.
Robert Aitken (1984, p. 34)

Trauma/Trust/Betrayal

To understand the emotional upheaval and consequences of betrayals in the Zen-Buddhist teacher/student tradition, we need to understand the trauma involved in betrayals of trust and we need to understand the dynamics of the teacher/student relationship. Therefore, I decided to divide the Literature Review into three parts, one concentrating on the aspects of trauma and trust in betrayals, one on the dynamics of the teacher/student relationship in Zen-Buddhism, and one presenting two differing views of betrayal. Literature relevant to the methodology will be presented in the chapter on Research Methodology.

Trauma: The Consequences of Betrayals of Trust

As mentioned in the introduction, the dearth of research on the subject of betrayal is surprising. Most of what can be found has to do with sexual betrayal--betrayal by the parent in incest cases, or betrayal by the therapist, mentor or minister in adult cases--and much of that is statistical research on the frequency of occurrence. Most of the rest, until recently, has involved theorizing/comparing/summarizing after looking at case studies. With the exception of Linenberg's study, I have found no useful empirical studies on

betrayal in non-sexual experiences. Nonetheless, there is something to be learned from the studies about sexual betrayals mentioned above.

Indeed, in *Safe Harbor: Guidelines, Process and Resources for Ethics and Right Conduct in Buddhist Communities,* a booklet put out by the Buddhist Peace Fellowship in Berkeley, CA, there is a section on the abuse of students written by Jan Chozen Bays who maintains, "There are striking similarities between child abuse and spiritual abuse" (p. 17). She explains that students come to practice like trusting children, open and willing to share their "innermost anxieties and shadowy places, trusting the teacher to act always for their benefit. To betray that trust for personal gain is a misuse of power akin to child abuse" (p. 18). Just as child abuse disrupts a child's development, sometimes permanently, making healthy sexuality an impossibility, "Spiritual abuse of students is similarly disruptive, with the result that some students never mature in spiritual practice and others are turned away from the Dharma forever" (p. 18). Other similarities are also cited. Just as child molesters love children's innocence and purity, so, too, can a tired, jaded, or aging spiritual teacher "try to replenish their own depleted spiritual energy vicariously through the student..." (p. 19). Bays points out that not only are "secrecy and lying ... fundamental to child abuse," but also to abuse of students (p. 19). She states that students feel many of the same

emotions as abused children: "they feel love and gratitude for the teacher, distress over the abuse...," guilt, unworthiness, blame, and helplessness to escape (p. 20).

Bays compares the excuses child abusers make to those teachers make: "'I was educating the child.' 'In the end it was beneficial for the child.' 'It is a matter only between us, and does not concern the larger community, who cannot understand our special kind of love.'" She continues, "'The child loves me. Ask them, they don't feel harmed. It's society that has the problem'" (p. 19). Bays suggests that although these excuses are looked upon with disdain when coming from child molesters, they are generally accepted when used by "a spiritual teacher who has exploited an adult student" (p. 19).

Looking at the findings about the impact of betrayals on the victims of incest, and sexual intimacies with teachers, ministers, and therapists, we find that the betrayal of trust has traumatic effects. These studies become more interesting when the similarity in relationship is recognized. Whether parent/child, teacher(professor)/student, minister/congregant, or therapist/client, one person holds the power in such relationships. The other is the supplicant, one who wants or needs something from and is therefore dependent to some extent on the person in power. This makes the less powerful person vulnerable in the relationship. In each case there is the assumption that the person in power will act in the best

interests of the "supplicant"; there is trust in the integrity not only of the person, but also in the "office" of the person in power. Lena Dominelli (1989) talks about power in betrayals of trust in incestuous relationships. Power in families is theoretically "tempered by trust," she maintains. "This sets up the expectation that the powerless members of the family will be cared for and protected by its more powerful ones. Their failure to live up to this expectation becomes a betrayal of trust, or the abuse of power..." (p. 298). Across the board the effects of betrayal of trust are similar, if not the same. It must be mentioned, however, that in empirical as well as case studies, most research has been done on women victims (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986).

Sexual betrayal occurs in relationships--parent/child, therapist/client, teacher/student, minister/congregants--where there is intimacy, trust, a power differential, and often a kind of dependency/idealization (Fortune, 1994; Guggenbuehl-Craig, 1985; Hillman, 1965; Pope & Vasquez, 1991; Rutter, 1989). These are all elements inherent in the teacher/student relationship in spiritual practice (Feuerstein, 1990; Knist, 1995; Kornfield, 1993; Welwood, 1987), which includes Zen-Buddhist practice.

Recent empirical research on sexual betrayals of trust reveals common effects from those experiences that agree with case study observation. Some of the more frequent results are loss of self-esteem; loss of trust in the betrayer; generic

loss of trust in others; a desire for vengeance; a decimation of self-trust; anxiety, depression, fear, and lack of concentration (Finkelhor & Browne, 1986; Fortune, 1994; Pope, 1988; Pope & Vasquez, 1991; Sonne, Meyer, Borys, & Marshall, 1985).

In his review of the research on therapist/client sexual intimacy, Kenneth Pope (1988) found that the consequences for clients were similar to Rape Response Syndrome, Battered Spouse Syndrome, reaction to incest and child abuse, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (p. 222). Consequences for the client include: ambivalence about the betrayer; a sense of guilt; feelings of emptiness and isolation; impaired ability to trust; identity and boundary confusion; depression and anxiety; suppressed rage; cognitive dysfunction, especially attention and concentration (p. 222).

Similar findings were revealed by Finkelhor and Browne (1986), who, in an attempt to formulate a framework to better understand the effects of childhood sexual abuse, also identify four "traumagenic dynamics" or trauma-causing factors in such cases which, they agree, are not unique to sexual abuse, but can be generalized to other types of trauma as well (p. 633). In my experience, three of these dynamics or factors can be present in Zen-Buddhist teacher/student betrayals. The first of these is "betrayal," or the recognition that someone intimately trusted has done one harm, that one has been manipulated "through lies or

misrepresentations about moral standards," that one has been treated with "callous disregard" by a person one loves (p. 634). The second dynamic is powerlessness, where one's "will, desires, and sense of efficacy are continually contravened" (p. 635). Powerlessness is reinforced when one's attempts to stop the abusive behavior are thwarted, and it is increased when one is unable to get others or the perpetrator to understand what is happening. Just knowing the consequences of disclosure can make one feel powerless (p. 635). The third common dynamic is stigmatization, when negative feelings are communicated to the discloser. If the discloser is demeaned or shamed, or if others react with shock and/or blame, the discloser's sense of isolation, shame and guilt increases (p. 635). Personal communications with spiritual teachers (Jack Kornfield, October, 1996; Yvonne Rand, July, 1996) and Buddhist practitioners involved with ethical statements and committees (Alan Senake, October 1, 1997; Sala Steinback, September 5, 1997) elicit agreement that these dynamics are in play when betrayal occurs between teacher and student in Zen communities, as well as in other spiritual communities.

According to Finkelhor and Browne (1986), the cumulative psychological effects are lowered self-esteem, guilt, shame, mistrust of others, grief, depression, anger, hostility, anxiety, fear, extreme dependency, inability to judge trustworthiness in others, and lowered sense of self-efficacy (pp. 637-638). The array of presenting behaviors include the

following: eating and sleeping disorders, depression, employment problems, vulnerability to further victimization, aggressive behavior, marital problems, discomfort with intimacy, isolation, and clinging (pp. 637-638).

The same researchers, Browne and Finkelhor (1986), in a study reviewing the empirical research on childhood incest, found that it was not clear if the short term effects of fear, anxiety, depression, anger, and hostility were representative of all child victims. This was due to the lack of comparative groups in the studies and the lack of standardized outcome measures. Nonetheless evidence strongly suggested these initial reactions in many victims (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986, p. 69). The long-range symptoms of depression, self-destructive behaviors, anxiety, isolation, negative self-concept, problems in relating, difficulty in trusting others--especially in close relationships--are solidly substantiated in adult survivors of childhood incest (pp. 69-71).

Perhaps the most relevant piece of information for this dissertation research from their large study pertains to the relationship of the victim to the offender. Browne and Finkelhor discovered that what had been consistently reported was that there "...is greater trauma from experiences involving fathers or father figures compared with all other types of perpetrators, when these have been separated out" (p. 73). This is especially interesting as the relationship to the teacher in spiritual traditions has elements of the

child/father relationship, at least during some period of the teacher/student relationship.

It is my contention that perhaps the closest parallel in betrayal of trust in spiritual teacher/student relationships lies with childhood incest. A child is in the "new territory" of life. It does not have the skills to cope and looks to the parent to guide it and teach it how to protect and care for itself, how to find its way. Also, the child sees the parents as godlike in their omnipotence. They are "larger than life." They hold all power. They know all things. I would say that they are a "stand-in" for the Divine, receiving all the child's love and devotion. They mirror faith, hope, love, wisdom, right behavior for the child and the threat that their presence could be taken away or turned against the child, is a death sentence for the child. It is a death sentence because it strikes right to the core of being in the child, to its basic inherent trust, to its survival as an inner, spiritual being as well as its physical survival. The relationship of the child to the Divine can be damaged or destroyed.

In spiritual practice we are again, this time as an adult, in new territory. We look to the teacher to guide us through the perils of this new life until we can stand on our own two feet. A child has no choice but to trust the parent. As an adult we choose to do a spiritual practice or not. We choose a teacher. But once chosen, we have no choice but to surrender as a child, trusting both the teacher and the

"office," assuming the teacher has our best interests at heart. This has proven to be *the* place of contention, how to surrender and still say "no" to a teacher or situation, and what is the role of the witnessing self? Of course, what is really desired is surrender to the Self, or the Divine, but on the way to that surrender is the surrender to the teacher. Betrayal of this trust can again strike to the core of the student's being, to basic trust, damaging or destroying relationship with the Divine/Self. This is all discussed in length in the section on teacher/student relationships.

Marie Fortune (1994) presents research done on the sexualization of the ministerial relationship as well as academic teacher/student relationships. Besides pointing out the power differential that is always apparent in these kinds of relationships, she volunteers the following consequences for victimized congregants/students: depression, disrupted sleeping or eating, sense of helplessness, loss of self-confidence, dissatisfaction with studies, isolation, irritability, fear, anxiety, lack of concentration (pp. 21-22).

Linenberg's (1990) dissertation, *A Phenomenological Study of the Experience of Feeling Betrayed in an Interpersonal Relationship,* is the only study I found involving interpersonal betrayal of trust not related to sexual behavior. In his study he described the general disbelief and shock that accompany the event itself, and the inability to

accommodate the experience. In the aftermath, which is the focus of my research, Linenberg pinpointed the loss of innocence. Even when the betrayal is not a "first," there is a break in primal trust (p. 163). The whole event and the loss of trust culminate in changes in self-evaluation. These include feelings of "powerlessness, sadness, loss, and lack of control" (p. 164), a sense of "diminished self and inability to stand up for oneself" (p. 165), and a sense of worthlessness. These feelings are similar to the depression, guilt, shame, self-blame, anxiety, disempowerment, and lack of anger described in the above-mentioned studies. It is interesting to note that the relationships studied by Linenberg were peer relationships (siblings, friends, co-workers) where power, in the sense of office or expertise, was not a factor. Even so, his findings were similar, though the consequences *may* not have been as deep or as long-lasting. This is my conjecture and would need to be further researched.

The descriptions of the psychological consequences of sexual betrayal between parent/child, teacher/student, therapist/client and simply interpersonal fall into the diagnosis for post-traumatic stress syndrome (*DSM IV*, 1994, p. 428). The criteria for that diagnosis are not restricted to sexual experiences, but the fear of death or severe injury to self or other needs to be present. The loss of basic/primal trust may feel very much like pending death or life-threatening injury. When our belief system and our sense of

self in it is compromised, it is as if we were dying, or the world as we know it is dying. Fortune quotes Rabinowitz about sexual harassment when she suggests that sexual harassment experienced as trauma may result in post-traumatic stress disorder (1994, p. 22). Perhaps many betrayals of trust that are severe enough to be experienced as traumatic could be justifiably placed in the category of post-traumatic stress.

Some Dynamics in Betrayals of Trust

Peter Rutter (1986) gives a fine description of the complex dynamics of sexual betrayal of trust in his book *Sex in the Forbidden Zone*, which is based on over 1,000 case reports and on in-depth interviews and case studies from his years of practice as a psychotherapist and Jungian analyst.

Most of those who are sexually betrayed, he explains, are women. One of the main reasons women develop feelings for and become sexually involved with either psychotherapists, doctors, teachers, mentors, or pastors is because they have revealed the core of their being to these men (Rutter, 1986, p. 149). For the first time they have felt listened to, supported, recognized, accepted, encouraged by a male figure who has a big influence (similar, even, to that of fathers) on their lives. From that is derived a feeling of hope for their own lives--a sense of self-worth and of an opportunity to do something valuable with their lives. For a while at least, women can become extremely vulnerable in such a relationship and dependent on the continuing support for their budding new

selves. "When a relationship offers a woman fulfillment of her deepest expressions of self, she will go to great extremes to maintain it" (Rutter, 1986, p. 135). It is this deepest self, this core, revealed, that is wounded in the betrayal of basic trust. It can feel life-threatening.

I think many Zen students can empathize with the above statements when thinking about their relationship to their teacher, no matter which genders are involved. Being heard, accepted and encouraged is often a far too rare occurrence in students' lives. The support and validation, offered by the teacher, is often the first step in real self-validation and self-appreciation. Students may be willing to compromise values and overlook behaviors in order to continue enjoying that support.

Rutter considers the positions of both betrayer and betrayed, takes the onus of maladjustment and pathology off the betrayed, and makes a compassionate argument for those in power to take their responsibility to heal and to mentor seriously--including the working through of their own issues. However, the devastating effects when therapists use clients to assuage their own needs are all too apparent and Rutter places the responsibility for betrayal behavior squarely on the person in power. Pope and Vasquez (1991) cite Bates and Brodsky when examining the risk of being betrayed by a therapist, "Their analysis led them not to the personal

history or characteristics of the client but rather to prior behavior of the therapist..." (p. 103).

Fortune (1994), Rutter (1989), and Pope (1988) are of a mind that sexual involvement between therapist/client, teacher/student, minister/congregant is detrimental to clients, students, and congregants and can stop their growth or developmental process in its tracks. They also agree that the problem is shockingly wide-spread. The question then becomes whether it is the sexual act itself or the betrayal of trust invested in the perpetrator that elicits the traumatic responses. Fortune maintains "The essential harm, however, is that of betrayal of trust" (p. 21). Linenberg's study of interpersonal betrayal shows the same kinds of responses in those who feel their trust has been betrayed in realms other than the sexual. I suspect that these responses will also be found in those who have felt their trust betrayed in the teacher/student relationship.

Rutter's (1989) discussion of the interplay at work in these relationships reminds me strongly of my own experience with betrayal, and seems to resonate with the experience of several people I know who have experienced betrayal within the Zen community (although these betrayals were not sexual in nature). In many ways the Zen-Buddhist teacher/student relationship is similar to that of the therapist/client in terms of trust and power. Both are imbued with a sense of morality by the very context in which they take place. Both

can facilitate an individuation process. Like therapists, teachers are supposedly wiser, they mentor and guide, they listen attentively; in addition, they can promote students to teachers themselves, and their attention may afford status to the student within the sangha (community). The student (client) has aspirations, needs help with the practice (life's problems), desires spiritual (psychological) understanding, becomes more and more open, and can become extremely vulnerable. The student (client) is encouraged to trust his/her teacher (therapist) with the whole inner process.

Trust is basic not only to the teacher/student relationship, but to spiritual life itself. Although both therapist and spiritual teacher may become stand-ins for the parent, the spiritual teacher becomes, in addition, stand-in for the Divine. Often, before a student can surrender to the self/Self, s/he surrenders instead to the teacher. More about this process in the section on teacher/student relationship. "The problem is that the spiritual path cannot be negotiated without total trust, total openness and surrender, but in that moment the soul's healthy warning signs no longer function" (Eva, personal communication, August 27, 1997. A letter from Eva is found in Appendix G.) That trust becomes even deeper in dokusan, private exchanges between teacher and student often during meditation periods, where both are likely to be in altered states of consciousness--i.e., more open, aware, and vulnerable than in so-called normal states.

Added to the issue of trust is that of vulnerability. The person experiencing betrayal is often in a vulnerable phase of life as well as being in a vulnerable position in the relationship of parent/child, teacher/student, therapist/client, etc. Fortune (1994) recognizes that the victim can be "anyone who seeks help from the clergyperson and who, in her/his vulnerability at the time, crosses the path of an unethical minister" (Fortune, p. 20). Rutter describes the cultural and individual wounding of women clients that makes them so vulnerable to male recognition and support. Several of Linenberg's participants were at particularly vulnerable stages in their lives when betrayed.

Linenberg (1990) suggests that those feeling betrayed may have given too much power to the betrayer out of the need to allow that person to hold the hidden aspects of him/herself (p. 160). Rutter also described how women in his studies gave the power to "develop their inner sense of self-esteem" (Rutter, 1989, p. 132) to men by failing "...to understand that the power conveyed in images of men is *her own*" (p. 133).

Zen students not only do this, too, but the demands of spiritual practice require the surrender of the student. Whether male or female, projecting one's power (or other qualities) onto another can be a step in recognizing and reclaiming it (them). If, in fact, Zen practice requires this type of dynamic, the recipient of the projection--the teacher --must be "strong" enough (morally and spiritually) to hold

that projection without acting out or reacting to it in ways that will betray the trust of the student. The extent to which power needs to be surrendered in Zen practice will be taken up again later.

Linenberg (1990) suggested that some of those betrayed may feel unacceptable to themselves and compromise themselves because they feel unacceptable to others as well (p. 156). Further, Linenberg suggested a choice on the part of the betrayed in choosing a relationship that would repeat a history of betrayals (p. 157). The betrayed makes a choice to "... believe in certain principles of ethics and of another's identity ..." (p. 159),--i.e., assumes or takes for granted that the other will support him/her. Of course at some point, as adults, this choice must be made, otherwise the world could not function. In my opinion, we operate with certain basic agreements on moral behavior within a culture and assumptions about the ethical behavior expected of certain professions cannot be "diagnosed" as "pathological" or "undesirable." This is a complex issue, especially when choosing to trust a spiritual teacher. Must some part of us always remain awake and aware, ever on the alert for signs of behavior that are "suspect"? And is it not just this observer self that is being developed in therapeutic and spiritual relationships?

Linenberg (1990) approached his findings in two ways, deciding that either life "happens" and betrayals routinely occur wherever trust relationships exist, or that individuals

actually repeat patterns of behavior that attract betrayal situations. As has been noted previously, betrayal seems to be inherent in trust relationships. This does not preclude that some people, because of unresolved oedipal or pre-oedipal issues, actually elicit betrayal, or put themselves in situations where they will invariably be betrayed. Everyone has some unresolved issues--including both sides of the teacher/student, therapist/client, etc. equation. It would seem that every teacher, clergyperson, parent, physician must live with the fact that despite all precautions and all good intent, some aspect of his/her behavior may trigger feelings of betrayal in some clients, students, patients, etc. Likewise, all students, despite precautions, must live with the possibility of experiencing betrayal by their teachers.

The Bigger Picture of Betrayal

It is interesting to note that Linenberg (1990) focuses on what is happening within the betrayed (student) and seems to rest responsibility there, while Rutter (1986) is concerned with the relationship, the betrayer's issues, and therapist (teacher) responsibility. At the beginning of my own experience of betrayal, I was only too ready to place the responsibility on my teacher. I was angry and I "blamed" him. Then I spent time looking at what I had done and was only too willing to blame myself. But the longer I contemplate the situation, hold it in my sitting practice and remain in compassion, the bigger and more inclusive the picture becomes.

Rutter (1986) addresses the causes of wounding in women and men that are rooted in our culture. He paints a big picture of sexual betrayal. Although he puts responsibility on the therapist, he does so with mercy. He describes with compassion the part both therapist and client play in the experience. I find Linenberg's (1990) view rather narrow in comparison.

My own sense is that any experience, including betrayal, manifests according to the Buddhist teaching of dependent co-arising or mutual causality, rather like a systems theory model. To tease apart an experience is to unravel and reveal myriad threads, some of which "make sense" and others which do not. Thus it becomes more difficult to assign blame, and it distributes responsibility more evenly. So I would like to look at the roles Zen tradition and our own society and culture play in the larger picture of teacher/student betrayal and how they influence that relationship from the very beginning. The sum total of who the student and the teacher are individually influences their relationship, and who they are is determined not only by the way they were each brought up, but also by their experience in the culture and society in which they live and in which the relationship takes place. As Vice (1992) notes in his article "Voices of Betrayal," "...personal relationships occur within a community whose structure and values determine their nature and define their

possibilities ...," and they are "...dependent on the macrostructure of society" (p. 61).

The teacher/student relationship in Zen-Buddhism is a relationship between two people each with a personal past, within the confines of the Zen community (sangha), in the context not only of the culture(s) from which Zen evolved, but also in the context of the culture(s) in which both their pasts and the shared present took/takes place. The circumstances in which betrayal is experienced thus become intriguingly complex. One realizes it is "...conceivable that betrayal appear independently of the behavior of individuals, yet as an integral part of their relationship, as a necessary element of the roles which make the relationship possible" (Vice, 1992, p. 54). The possibility that betrayal is inherent in any relationship, especially when greater trust is involved, will be addressed again later.

The Nature of Betrayal

Looking at the nature of betrayal as defined at the beginning of this work, reveals it to be a failure in interpersonal/inter-subjective relationships, not only an infraction against ethical or legal standards. It is the student's feeling that the teacher has violated the student's trust that defines the experience as betrayal. If the teacher behaves inappropriately or makes inappropriate demands of the student so that the trust the student has placed in the teacher to guide him/her in spiritual practice or to support

and encourage him/her in personal development is broken or these processes break down, *so that the student feels the trust has been violated,* then we may, in the context of this research, call it betrayal. A breach of trust can be sexual in nature (asking to be touched or touching inappropriately or sleeping with the student); financial (using student labor or asking for monetary contributions or favors that cause the student personal difficulty or guilt); relational; it can be a professional or personal misrepresentation (suggesting to the student that teachers always know best, or that the teacher has been approved by a lineage, but is not); an exploitation (asking the student to work too long hours for the center or using the student's skills consistently without recompense).

Bugental and Bradford (1992) describe betrayal further as an abandonment [withdrawal of support or even of the teaching agreement, especially when the student is in the middle of a difficult process or at a particularly vulnerable phase in development]; or as a violation of a person's process [disrupting the process by any of the behaviors already mentioned which cause the student to be too traumatized to continue in his/her development or spiritual growth]. This violation can be as simple as not being present to an experience [being too wrapped up in other thoughts or situations to notice the needs of the student] (pp. 2-3). In these types of situations the trust put in the teacher to accompany and support the student in spiritual and emotional

growth and to model the living of the precepts or the teachings is violated, broken. A breach of trust has many faces.

Not only is there the probability that betrayals are inherent in trust relationships, it appears that there is a necessity for betrayals to take place, especially in parent/child, therapist/client and, as here, teacher/student relationships. Morgenson (1992) believes it is crucial for the less powerful to experience the more powerful as both able and unable to help, as both "good" and "bad," as both positive and negative, as both wise and foolish. If this is *not* done massively and abruptly, the child/student "...internalizes the support that the outer world suddenly ceased to provide" (Mogenson, 1992, p. 19), thus building her/his own ego strength. This is how, as the Jungian analyst Carotenuto in his book *Betrayal and Abandonment* says "...we ... find the strength to accept and experience completely the most absolute abandonment, especially by the prime object of our love" (Carotenuto, 1989, p. 78). In so doing, we become adults.

In this sense, the experience of betrayal is not limited to only a few people, but has been experienced by each of us to varying degrees in our many relationships. Everyone who enters therapy--and probably everyone who walks into a Zen meditation hall--has experienced some form of betrayal (Birner, 1987, p. 27; Birner, 1992, p. 45). Everyday language is full of references to betrayal. We describe how people

have disappointed, deceived or mistreated us; we say we have been taken, taken for a ride, hood-winked, "screwed" or "fucked" (Birner, p. 44). I believe as we have all experienced betrayal, we have all probably betrayed others in some form or another. Depending on the degree of betrayal or deception experienced, people may be prone to betray others (Birner, 1992, p. 43; Shafranske, 1992, pp. 32-33) or to be betrayed again and again. As Feuerstein (1990) so aptly points out, although some betrayals may be calculated with good intent by authentic crazy wisdom teachers or very wise teachers, therapists, etc., many betrayals arise from the unconscious and are perpetrated for personal gain or advantage, or to fulfill the unresolved needs of the betrayer. In any case, there is no guaranty for the honesty or purity of any parent, teacher, spiritual teacher, or therapist.

An excellent reference for how betrayals are born of the unconscious, unresolved issues of men and then intricately planned and acted on is the movie "In The Company of Men," which I "happened" to see the very day that I started sorting references and quotes into the outline of this dissertation! In this film two men conspire to betray, to hurt a woman because they have been left by their respective girlfriends. As part of the game one man, in addition, betrays the other. First both men manipulate. The woman is the "victim." Then one man continues to manipulate and the other man becomes the

second unwitting "victim." Both "victims" are vulnerable; the "victimized" man is going through tough career situations and has been jilted, the woman is deaf. Both are intelligent, competent individuals. One "victim" goes against his conscience to join the original deception. Both "victims" make a logical choice to buy into the norms of society because they are well-functioning adults. Neither is especially gullible or foolish. The "top dog" in this case is unethical, scheming, conniving, manipulative. He has no feelings for the people he manipulates and no moral compunctions about what he has done. He seems a "regular guy" and his girlfriend murmurs in the end that she "knows him so well," snuggling up to him as they fall asleep. Will she eventually be a "victim" also? Do we look quickly to blame the "victims" in this story because it seems so easy? Where does the responsibility lie in the intricacies of deception? Where are the voices of the "victims"? How do they make sense of being betrayed? Do they grow, recover, transform?

The Teacher/Student Relationship

It is impossible to understand betrayal in the teacher/ student relationship without understanding the unique quality and character of this type of relationship. As there is hardly anything written in peer-reviewed journals about teacher/student relationships in spiritual practice, I will begin to use more cited personal conversations with and books

or articles written by competent spiritual teachers noted for their integrity and their long years of work with students. Some of these teachers have a psychology background (Stan Grof, Jack Kornfield), or have worked with victimized students (Yvonne Rand, Jan Chosen Bays, Jack Kornfield). Their writings are similar to reflections on compilations of clinical cases and have been accepted as accurate and insightful by practitioners, students and teachers alike, and strike a resonant chord with my own experience. Trained psychologists working in the spiritual arena, some with a Jungian background, are also cited (James Hillman, Frances Vaughan, Stan Grof, Aldo Carotenuto, Peter Rutter).

It is revealing to see the influence of society on students' and teachers' ways of thinking and how that, in turn, influences the teacher/student relationship. Then it is important to look at what happens between teacher and student within that relationship in practice and in betrayal.

Concepts of Power and the Teacher/Student Relationship

Since power/empowerment or the lack of it plays such a large role in the dynamics of betrayal, it is helpful, and empowering, to take a look at the ideas and beliefs that the Western world and the U. S. in particular have about power. These ideas and beliefs are carried by students entering spiritual practice and influence their relationships to teachers and fellow students.

In his book *Kinds of Power,* James Hillman (1995) postulates that power is ideational. We need to be more aware of our ideas about things, what dominates our imagination, influencing what we say and how. If we don't know what archetype is influencing our behavior or what part of ourself is saying things, we get caught by the power of the idea. Then we defend it, fight for it, become identified with it, believe in it because it is right. Certitude comes from identification with the power within an idea, with an accompanying disidentification with the ego-self. I have seen this type of thinking in sanghas where people are convinced of the idea of Zen, convinced of the rightness of the way it is practiced, convinced of the rightness of the teacher's ideas, behavior and authority, convinced of the teacher's perfection. Such thinking sets the stage for denial and the lack of support for those who feel betrayed and speak out, for the continuation of betraying behavior, and for the inability of the sangha to deal with painful situations.

The Western world views power as up/down--i.e., domination/subordination, God/man, hierarchical, male/female. This dualistic split is well-documented in Fritjof Capra's *Turning Point* (1988) and *The Tao of Physics* (1991) and further explained in Joanna Macy's *Mutual Causality in Buddhism and General Systems Theory* (1991). Hillman finds origins of dualistic splitting go as far back as our Indo-European language roots, where the connotations of the word power

include the sense of lord, master, dominant, dominator, possessor from the Greek (*posis, despotes, domos*) and Latin (*domus, posis, dominus*) (Hillman, 1995, pp. 97-98). These connotations conflict with our definition of love, hence the conviction that love is pitted against power and that in order to be noble and good we must renounce power (Hillman, pp. 106-108). With this underlying, unconscious belief system it is little wonder that many Zen students in the striving for goodness, purity, wholeness, spirituality are so willing either to sacrifice power, projecting it onto the teacher, or to deny the power the teacher may have in the relationship by projecting all good qualities onto the teacher. Teachers, in wanting to be kind, loving, compassionate, may not be able to recognize the full extent of the power they exercise over students--whether they want to or not. As Hillman notes, we often expect those who are powerful to be saviors, which allows little room for humanness, for error, for foibles. Power, he says, often comes clothed like the god Hercules, as savior and hero (pp. 223,224).

In the same vein, Mulder (1975) looks at political power in American society, showing that a steady centralization of power in the U. S. government has weakened the checks and balances resulting in a "quasi-totalitarianism in American political life..." and uncritical belief in the U.S. President as a basically moral man (p. 287). Feuerstein (1990) maintains the emotional immaturity of many Western--i.e.,

North American--adults is manifested in our not knowing what we want--of which one of the consequences is that we defend our individualism in minor matters, while feeling powerless in relation to the power of the state, corporations, political movements, and bureaucracies (pp. 149-151). The combination of feeling powerless in the face of authority combined with the willingness to idolize is dangerous indeed. This national tendency may be reflected in the idolatry that often takes place in the sangha setting. Students may idolize monks, senior students, the practitioner who appears wiser or looked up to, and teachers.

Sticking to the example of how political dynamics influence our thinking in an holistic view, Frances Vaughan also suggests that the best system devised against abuses of power were the checks and balances built into the U. S. Constitution. "Among professional psychologists this is known as peer review. Unfortunately, peer review seems lacking among spiritual teachers" (1995, pp. 134-135). The links between the culture we live in and events in the sangha and in the teacher/student relationship are forged in the way we think about power. Idolized/idealized teachers become vulnerable to believing they are what is projected onto them (this is discussed in the section on the nature of teachers); vulnerability increases when there is a lack of peer review to which they subject themselves. Peer review is not a strong point in the Zen tradition, unless one goes back to the

intellectual jousting depicted in many koans where one teacher reveals the depth of his understanding (spiritual experience) to another, more in a humorous "one-up-manship" kind of way.

The power differential begins when one person with a need looks to someone more knowledgeable or better trained for help. Rutter makes the point that the very fact that the more powerful person can abandon the relationship at any time affords her/him the opportunity to influence or impose her/his will. The person with less power in therapy or teaching relationships assumes that the person with more power will act in their best interests. That is the meaning of trust in these relationships (Rutter, 1991, pp. 48,49).

French and Raven (1965) in their article "The Bases of Social Power," postulate five bases of power. Reward power and coercive power (punishment) are self-explanatory. Legitimate power is more complicated. "In all cases, the notion of legitimacy involves some sort of code or standard, accepted by the individual, by virtue of which the external agent can assert his power" (p. 140). If one believes in the cultural values that stipulate the characteristics that give a person the right to prescribe behavior, then one accepts as legitimate the power or influence exercised by the person manifesting those characteristics. If one accepts social structures that value a hierarchy of authority, one will accept as legitimate the power of someone "higher up" or the power of "office" (p. 140). Thus one accepts, and expects,

that a teacher give assignments, a judge levy fines, and "a priest is justified in prescribing religious beliefs" (p. 140). If one accepts a legitimizing agent who designates power to another, one also accepts that other as legitimate (p. 140). All of these sociocultural structures come into play in a sangha and the teacher/student relationship. The teacher possesses education, most likely age, insight, intelligence (generally accepted cultural values). Students also generally accept the social structure that involves the hierarchy of authority. Teachers and clergy have elevated standing in our society; the student accepts them. If the student also accepts as legitimate the power of previous teachers to name new teachers judged to be competent, much as a university would bestow a degree, or the church ordain a priest, the named teacher is also seen as legitimate (p. 140).

Two other bases of power named by French and Raven (1965) are referent power and expert power. Referent power is given when one identifies with or wants to be like another, much as a student may wish to be like a teacher. "[A person's] P's identification with O [other] can be established or maintained if P behaves, believes, and perceives as O does. Accordingly O has the ability to influence P, even though P may be unaware of this referent power" (p. 142).

In expert power, one perceives that another knows more, better, more expertly in comparison to one's own knowledge, and perhaps in comparison to others' as well. "Wherever

expert influence occurs it seems to be necessary both for P to think that O knows and for P to trust that O is telling the truth [rather than trying to deceive him]" (p. 143). Teachers are assumed to have something to teach [know something] and assumed to be telling the truth. All these power bases are in place to some degree or another in a sangha and in each student.

Power and Gender in the Teacher/Student Relationship

In addition, Western culture manifests an imbalance of power between men and women. Our culture dictates that women show deference to men. Of course mutual deference is to be applauded, but the "...flaw is in the demand for deference that underlies most social arrangements between men and women" (Rutter, 1991, p. 75). Rutter maintains that the presence of deference as a value internalized by women sets the stage for sexual exploitation (p. 76), but I would argue that it sets the stage for *any* kind of exploitation. Women are taught to be nice, to be kind, to fulfill people's needs, to stay connected (Mann, 1994; Sadker, 1995). I believe women are in double jeopardy in any trust relationship in our culture by virtue of their own willingness to be open, to submit and to defer, and by the other's expectation that they will do just that.

This should be looked at here in the context of power because of the great numbers of women students who have felt betrayed by male teachers (and because still most teachers are

men while women often make up at least half the sangha). "A woman's sense of place in the masculine world is strongly influenced by the degree to which her talent and potential have been recognized by male teachers" (Rutter, 1991, p. 33). When the teacher/student relationship is in a religious setting, the teacher has the added power of the spiritual advisor. "When a man has influence over both a woman's outer identity issues and her inner spiritual issues, the binding can be complete..." (Rutter, 1991, p. 34). In such cases, both the social and the spiritual dynamic give power to the teacher. The male mentor, then, becomes the vehicle for helping the woman develop her talents, whether intellectual, artistic or vocational. In addition, Rutter warns, the therapist/teacher must be aware of continuing dependency issues, which may even take on overtones of parenting (Rutter, 1991, p. 33). All of this happens in the unfolding of students' wholeness within the psycho/spiritual relationship of teacher/student. When those potentials are ridiculed or devalued, femininity may be turned in on itself (Rutter, 1991, pp. 96-97). Betrayals in this realm go, then, right to the core of being for these women. So again, we see how the influence of our cultural ideas about power reaches into the heart of the sangha and the male/female teacher/student relationship.

"If there is a legitimacy in power, it must be wielded in trust ... a man in power holds a sacred trust" (Rutter, 1991,

p. 30). Likewise, if the woman is in power, she is bound by the same trust (p. 30). Rutter's point, of course, is that by the virtue of our culture's power structure, the inherent power of men over women's lives is greater than that of women's over men. Therefore, as teachers and therapists, men have an added responsibility to use that power wisely and in a sacred manner, not abusing the trust proffered by women. Although Rutter argues the point of sexual misconduct, I would argue that even non-sexual breaches of trust in the intimacy of male/female teacher/student relationships can be extremely damaging when the woman is beginning to find the connection to her own worth through the support of the teacher and this process is violated before maturing.

Along these lines, studies show our national disregard for women. Judy Mann, in her book *The Difference*, cites case after case pointing to boys'/men's dislike of girls/women. "In the grand scheme of gender, boys have lodged girls firmly in their place as the negative reference points of what boys don't ever want to be" (Mann, 1994, p. 53). A study by the husband and wife team Sadker showed that teachers treated boys differently than girls and in such subtly different ways that they could not, for the most part, see it themselves (Sadker & Sadker, 1995, pp. 94-98). The Sadkers concluded that boys were trained to be assertive while girls were trained to be passive. Also, girls were criticized more, and boys did not know how to take criticism because they received much less of

it (Mann, 1994, p. 83). Starting in the teenage years there is an enormous slide in girls' self-esteem, not in boys'. "As these boys and girls matured, the gap became a divide, a vast gulf that revealed troubling differences in how males and females felt about themselves" (Sadker & Sadker, 1995, p. 78).

The Sadkers also found such a degree of contempt for girls and the feminine role that no matter how many stories they read or boys they interviewed they continued to be shocked and appalled (pp. 83-85). As so many teachers are men and the Zen world is still heavily male dominated, it would be impossible to keep gender attitudes from permeating the whole structure. Both men and women must be responsible for their awareness of this factor and work to adjust the balance. Until that balance is created, men, I would argue, must take added responsibility by reason of the power they possess, whether they want it or not, by simply being male.

Traditional Zen-Buddhist Aspects and the T/S Relationship

Ritual is the life-blood of Zen centers. There is even ritual in the way of dress. Abbots, teachers, and senior students are set apart by robes, and within their hierarchy the robes are again different. Whenever they sit down there is an elaborate procedure of folding and arranging of garments. When making full bows they must be careful not to get their feet caught in the hem of their cumbersome garb. Both men's and women's heads are often shaven. If not shaven, most women have very short hair cuts; this may not be

required, just is. All of this is not true in my own Zen center which has a lay-people's tradition; nevertheless, over the years I have become accustomed to these outer trappings from visiting and practicing in centers with other traditions.

Tonight I am visiting and there is a guest speaker. A woman speaker. I appreciate what she is saying, while at the same time being aware of a visceral reaction to her appearance. Looking, I see maleness. It is not androgyny or even integratedness that I see. It is maleness, sternness, drabness, strictness. I sense wisdom, humor, discretion, kindness in her talk. The question arises, as so often, integration or suppression/repression? Great harmony, great control, or skillful imitation? Why, in this country, is she wearing a cumbersome garment designed centuries ago for Japanese men? What if she were to appear in Puritan-grey, homespun knee pants and hat to talk about Christian practices? We would laugh, certainly. (Still, we don't laugh at nuns.) Why, then, the acceptance of this ancient, male, costume from another culture? Why should a woman with long, flaming red hair, flowing skirts or flowered leotards, lipstick and nail polish not be able to demonstrate her wisdom, integration, humor, and compassion to students? A teacher would speak to me as well in street clothes and his/her own head of hair. Wouldn't s/he? I, who really love ritual, wonder how attached we are to it. Do we need it? What role does it play in a power set-up?

Ritual and Form. In a conversation with Yvonne Rand on September 3, 1997, she recalled visiting the Rochester, N. Y. Zen center some years ago now, and noting that all the senior women students were shaven, dressed in black/dark robes or clothing, and were painfully thin. Most of them were not menstruating anymore. Unwittingly perhaps, they had renounced themselves as women; the very essence of the feminine was betrayed in the act of practicing Zazen. As Yvonne agrees, the forms and ritual of Zazen are very "male": adherence to form, rules, time; deference to hierarchy; pushing the body to its limits. This fact generally goes unacknowledged, as does the underlying negative attitude toward women in our society as a whole. It is an issue that causes great discomfort. What part of our self do we give up to follow Zen ritual? Do women, more than men, betray their own essence in following Zen ritual? Does it matter, when we are practicing to transcend the ego?

The overt and visual trappings of Zen tradition and ritual make the hierarchy so evident, that a subtle subordination can occur, of which we are not aware. Hillman (1995) maintains "...subordination of any sort arouses the power complex" (p. 95). This subtle subordination in addition to that demanded of Zen students in the adherence to rules, regulations, and ritual can arouse a power complex that further plays itself out in the teacher/student relationship.

What is overt and obvious in most Zen meditation centers is a formality of ritual and ceremony that, creeping into the behavior, movement, speech, and appearance of the practitioners, can make the whole approach seem stilted and stiff. It can make simple personal communication between teachers and students--even among students--difficult. In a conversation with Sala Steinbach, who works on the ethics committee at the San Francisco Zen center, on September 3, 1997, I asked about the sense that conversation with teachers must always be "meaningful," "weighty," "meaty." She laughingly said, "Yeah, like we can't just say 'how's your dog?'" So the separation of sacred and profane becomes very real, abandoning momentarily the Zen adage that nothing/everything is sacred, nothing/everything is profane.

<u>The Sacred and Profane.</u> Zen's sometimes rigid formality or stilted informality seems to ban sensuousness and pleasure to some other realm. James Hillman (1995) comments on the oppositional roles of pleasure (profane) and work, i.e., practice, (sacred) in our Western culture, which we see here in our Western Zen tradition as well. We begin to take our work (practice) so seriously that it weighs on us and pleasures become "childish truancies, causing us to regard pleasure as a decadent parasite sapping the strength of power" (p. 207). Hillman also states that "Myths tell us that any activity ... which forbids the presence of Aphrodite invites her revenge..." (pp. 207-208).

Nowhere in Zen is pleasure expressly forbidden, and indeed the aesthetically beautiful surroundings found in Zen centers generally seem to invite both appreciation of visual pleasure and aesthetic sense, but often the subtle, non-verbal message pervading the "feel" of a center or emanating from practitioners is one of reserve, abstinence, sometimes almost dourness. The point, as Hillman makes, is that to cut off any part of our "self" is to sap ourselves of, or divert, the strength/energy of that part. To ban the sensual invites its energy to crop up inappropriately, as between teacher and student.

This splitting of sacred and profane is in the roots of the training of Zen teachers, which traditionally is much like that of teachers in other Asian traditions. It

> ...is a mystical and inner training that almost never touches upon the difficult issues of power and its potential abuse. Teachers are thrown into the role of administrator, minister, guide, and confidant, in which they have tremendous responsibility and power. Yet, many of their spiritual systems and practices explicitly exclude the human areas of sexuality, money, and power from what is considered spiritual. (Kornfield, 1993, p. 258)

This compartmentalization produces teachers with great skills in meditative techniques, koan work, etc. but leaves them singularly unskilled in some areas of their personal lives. Because psychological training is non-existent, transference and countertransference have traditionally not been discussed in most Zen communities and consequently there

has been little opportunity for teachers and students to become more clear about those dynamics in the Zen setting.

Accordingly, Zen practice itself is not fond of psychotherapy, teachers often believe that all problems take care of themselves "on the cushion," in meditation. I myself have been privy to these discussions, in talks and in shozan [a ceremony in which sangha members openly ask questions of the teacher]. The result is that often students are not encouraged to seek support in therapy, which could in turn empower them and offer some a much needed balance to the Zen perspective as well as insight into human relations.

Subordination. The dualistic splitting of the psyche so rampant in our culture, and which wreaks so much havoc in the domain of power is noticed again in the subordination of student to teacher. Feuerstein quotes Thomas Merton's *The Ascent to Truth*:

> Actually, where the contemplative life is taken seriously, the first thing required of the novice is the willingness to submit to a master, to obey, to renounce his own judgment, to practice humility and to learn a doctrine of the interior life from a spiritual master. (1990, p. 129)

Not only is power inherent in the hierarchical structure and in the office of teacher and in our attitude toward hierarchy and office, but submission itself proffers power to the one to whom we submit. Describing how therapists and clients grapple with this issue, Guggenbuehl-Craig (1985) suggests "The desire for power and the state of subjugation are here the expression

of an attempt to reunify the split archetype" (Guggenbuehl-Craig, 1985, p. 95).

Guggenbuehl-Craig also describes the gestures used by therapists that accentuate this split role and which are reminiscent of the studied, seemingly deliberate moves, gestures and facial expressions used by some Zen teachers--perhaps taken consciously or unconsciously from their own teachers. He describes the "sage nodding" of the head and the "pregnant remarks" that create the impression that the therapist [teacher] knows it all, has "plumbed the depths" of the client's [student's] soul as well as his/her own. According to Guggenbuehl-Craig, the implication here can also be that the student is weak or wounded while the teacher is whole and strong. The teacher can begin to believe that weakness and wounds have nothing to do with him/her. If the teacher cannot acknowledge the weak and wounded in him/herself, this elevates the teacher and degrades the student (Guggenbuehl-Craig, 1985, pp. 92-93). The demeanor of many teachers, often the careful, almost stylized way of speaking, and--especially in the schools of koan practice--the convoluted, incomprehensible verbal expression which serves to confound the student and break through concepts can often appear to be a certain flaunting of I-know-something-you-don't-know, an intimidating expertise.

<u>Altered States.</u> Another aspect of Zen which needs to be addressed because it influences the teacher/student

relationship is that much of the relationship is experienced in altered states. Kylea Taylor (1995) explains that "Non-ordinary states allow ingrained habits of thought, feeling, perception, and understanding to recede, diffuse, and break down as necessary so that people can find new understanding and reclaim disconnected parts of themselves" (Taylor, 1995, p. 15). These states occur to some extent every time students sit down on a zafu [meditation cushion]. Long sesshins [meditation retreats] particularly induce these states by bringing students to near-exhaustion--physically, mentally, emotionally. This is facilitated by deprivation of sleep, food, sound, movement, stimuli of all sorts in order to focus the student on his/her own inner process, encourage ego transcendence, and support the breakdown of concepts and thought. The Zen koan, when used, also contributes to this breakdown. It is "an attempt to jam the mind with paradox or riddle so that consciousness transcends the smaller paradigm of the mind. Non-ordinary state experiences challenge the limited belief system... [and] serve the same purpose" (Taylor, 1995, p. 66).

Submitting to this kind of practice calls for great trust on the part of the student, trust in the teacher, the practice, the process, and the student's own self. Even mentally and emotionally well-adjusted, healthy students can become lost in the inner chaos and confusion of this process. Taylor explains "Even more than clients in ordinary

therapeutic work, they need a context of trust..." (1995, p. 56). In this vulnerable state, projection and transference can run rampant and touch deep, core issues (1995, pp. 67-68). Extraordinary openness allows students to be easily and deeply wounded (1995, pp. 50-55). It also allows them to be especially perceptive and insightful. It is often in such a vulnerable state that students "finger" or even "trigger" the shadow of the teacher. Taylor notes:

> Likewise, the client in a nonordinary state of consciousness can unmask the caregiver. The client may see clearly, for example, the caregiver's illusions, personal issues, and motivations. Specifically, the client may verbalize her perception of the caregiver's sexual attraction to the client, jealousy of the client, need to control the client's process, or feelings of insufficiency .... (p. 130)

Taylor continues "The vulnerability of the person in a non-ordinary state should invoke a high code of honor in the caregiver. It is incumbent on the therapist [teacher] to recognize and work effectively with both transference and countertransference" (1995, p. 68). Otherwise, great damage can be inflicted. Not to be forgotten is the fact that teachers, too, often operate from altered states. It is apparent that a certain submission is first demanded of the student, that the practice then demands a deep level of trust while at the same time encouraging deep vulnerability. The situation of the student is precarious.

Crazy-Wisdom. Adding to the strain of discernment in how much trust and submission is appropriate, is the long

tradition of Zen crazy-wisdom teachers whose uniqueness lies in their unpredictable behavior and their total dedication to the student's radical psychospiritual transformation. These adepts are known for their ability to shock, startle, and surprise, keeping the student in a constant upside down world, or altered state. Sometimes their tactics are so bizarre and so outrage our normal sensitivities that they border on betrayal and the abusive. Sometimes adepts are what they seem, often they are not.

Georg Feuerstein's book *Holy Madness* (1990) is a veritable study of crazy-wisdom teachers from all traditions. The Zen history begins with Bodhidharma, who made the long journey from India to China where he sat for 9 years facing a wall until he was "enlightened"--and for which he sacrificed both legs to gangrene. Rinzai, a 9th century monk was noted for his shock therapy with students. His legacy of whacks, shouts, paradoxical responses and koans, or riddles, persists to this day, along with countless other stories of students who were mistreated by their teachers only to awaken or "attain enlightenment" as a "result."

Here is Case 20 from my training copy of the Hekigan-Roku Koans, "Suibi's Chin Rest":

> Ryuge asked Suibi, "What is the meaning of
> Bodhidharma's coming from the west?"
> Suibi said, "Pass me that chin rest." Ryuge passed
> Suibi the chin rest. Suibi hit him with it.
> Ryuge said, "You may hit me all you like, but there
> is no meaning to Bodhidharma's coming from the
> west."
> Ryuge asked Rinzai, "What is the meaning of

> Bodhidharma's coming from the west?"
> Rinzai said, "pass me that zafu." Ryuge passed Rinzai the zafu. Rinzai hit him with it.
> Ryuge said, "You may hit me all you like, but there is no meaning to Bodhidharma's coming from the west."

A student might easily be convinced that any confounding behavior, verbal response or teaching falls into the category of crazy wisdom and that it therefore must be accepted or condoned and certainly not questioned. Tradition influences the atmosphere of practice, thus allowing teachers' behavior to go unchallenged. Altered states can leave a student vulnerable and confused. If one's training has only just begun, how is one to discriminate about a teacher's behavior? When *does* one speak up, question, challenge?

On the Nature of Students

Shainberg's (1995) amusing yet revealing accounts of his own experiences at various Zen centers in his book *Ambivalent Zen* catch the mind-set of many beginning, and even older Zen students. Describing a Zen retreat, "The weight of tradition is all around me, the weight of authority" (p. 94); a Japanese monk, like Watts and Krishnamurti "sends me off on a foray into the Rorschach test that such people become when they take on the mantle of spiritual authority and invite the gaze of impressionable eyes like my own" (p. 97); commenting on a teacher's talk, "Is there not, circulating in this room, an ethos according to which it is a virtue to be less than articulate?" (p. 99); observing a fellow student's unfriendly attitude, "...I cannot believe that people who sit together

are anything but brothers and sisters to each other, that a man like this,... should feel anything but benevolent toward a beginner like myself" (p. 100). Portraying his own enthusiasm, "Everything I say is exaggerated and romantic, but I can't contain myself," he says. "Ever since I heard the roshi speak, I've been overheated with conviction, joyous with encountering a man I take to be the realization of all the truth and energy I have skirted..." (p. 101). Shainberg continues, "I see him [the teacher] as a man who's broken through the morass of thought, every trace of fear and neurosis..." (p. 102), and then, "Kendo warns us against the absurd idea that Yamada Roshi is an ordinary man. '...he'll feel the atmosphere in this building as soon as he reaches the gatehouse.'" (p. 132). Talking about Maezumi Roshi another practitioner admonishes Shainberg, "Don't you know this is no ordinary man? ...how can we question him?" (p. 265). Shainberg describes students, "...like several others ... he also seems to shape his words like Eido [the teacher] and even, at times, to speak with a Japanese accent" (p. 136); "...all his senior students wear these sandals" (p. 209). Commenting on a fellow student he says, "'Purification,' he sighs. 'Like any good Zen student, I can't get enough of it'" (p. 137). About himself he notes, "...the inherent need that exists in me, as it probably does in most everyone here, to be a member of the family, not to mention a loyal son to its patriarch" (p. 266). He asks, "How better to express your

devotion to your teacher than to support his enthusiasm at the expense of your own?" (p. 276), and concludes, "In this highly charged, self-conscious atmosphere, psychological crisis is virtually a constant..." (p. 279).

We can sense from these remarks the confusion of boundaries that occurs when a student begins to practice Zen meditation. The naivete, the awe of authority, the willingness to idealize the teacher and to put the teacher first, the longing to belong, the inclination to identify, the tendency to romanticize and exaggerate, the belief in the teacher being thoroughly "realized," the confusion about non-intellectualism and authority, the expectation that not only teachers but also fellow students are concerned for one's best interests--it is all there.

Although students who have suffered betrayal will certainly be at many different phases in the spectrum of human development, it will be nonetheless helpful to understand who is generally attracted to meditative spiritual practice.

> We have already noted how often spiritual centers draw lonely and wounded people. People come to spiritual practice looking for family, looking for love, for the good mother or father they never had. They look for healing, for friendship and support in the difficult task of living in our society. (Kornfield, 1993, p. 261)

In Feuerstein's view "The spiritual seeker is always a troubled individual. ...The seeker hopes, secretly or openly, that the teacher will somehow alleviate that sense of dis-ease" (Feuerstein, 1990, p. 112).

Both Epstein (1995) and Feuerstein (1990) describe the results of Western culture, and most especially that of North America, with its inner chaos and confusion, lack of tradition, breakdown of moral values, fast-paced lifestyle, head/heart split, materialism, social ills, etc., which has spawned insecure and immature individuals, many of whom have unresolved childhood dependency issues. Frustrated and angry because we were powerless to change our lives and get what our budding selves needed to thrive emotionally, we often find those issues re-surfacing during meditation as the memories of childhood trauma are revealed. This "inadequate childhood attention" is so prevalent in our society that it has "spawned a chronic spiritual hunger" in the West (Epstein, 1995, p. 173).

> ...our culture tends to foster the internalization of whatever absence was initially present. Thus if the relationship with one or both parents is strained, or if the child is forced to grow up before he or she is ready, there remains in that individual a gnawing sense of emptiness, a flaw that the person perceives as lying within himself or herself, rather than in early personal experiences. (Epstein, 1995, p. 173)

Inadequate attention in childhood estranges people from their own self.

Conversations with several Buddhist teachers (Yvonne Rand, Jack Kornfield, Les Kaye, James Baraz) have corroborated that the Dalai Lama has expressed surprise and incredulity at the lack of self-esteem in the Western student. Though Eastern spiritual practices may assume healthy self-esteem in the student from the start in their own cultures, the starting

point may look different in the West. The feelings of "alienation, longing, emptiness, and unworthiness" belong in Buddhism to the Realm of the Hungry Ghosts (Epstein, 1995, p. 17). This lack of self-esteem easily contaminates the teacher/student relationship in terms of power, projection, authority, idealization, etc.

Alice Miller describes the same phenomenon in *The Drama of the Gifted Child.* She details the need for children to experience their own emotions and desires, which leads to "strength and self-esteem" (1981, p. 33). What she calls "poisonous pedagogy" is the attempt to suppress the child's creativity, emotions, his/her very vitality. It is the way many in our culture grow up--trying to please the primary caretaker by doing what is seen as good and right and nice. The child introjects the differentiation between right and wrong, good and bad, etc. The child then feels contempt for itself, and finds it extremely difficult to hold the concept of good and bad in one and the same person--either in him/herself or in the other. Thus is born the tendency to project "good" or "bad" onto another person, allowing students to see the teacher as only "good"--especially if they feel themselves to be lacking.

If a child grows up alienated from her/his authentic needs, he/she will find direction not from a sense of the self, i.e., from within, but will take direction from the introjected expectations of others. The implications for a

teacher/student relationship are again clear. Looking to please a teacher on whom one projects all "good" attributes is fertile ground for betrayal. Even if the teacher's behavior is impeccable, the question of self-betrayal arises.

Unavoidably, our family patterns follow us into our meditation practice and our early experiences become part of any group we join, including spiritual communities.

> We take with us vulnerability, shame and guilt, lack of personal boundaries, dependency, codependency, and a need to control or be controlled. We carry our projections, our need for power, our tendency to idealize, or our unwillingness to doubt. (Grof, 1993, p. 243)

How easy to fall prey to spiritual romanticism, to see teachers as we want them to be and not as they are. Students whose families and schooling taught them never to question but to hand over their power to authorities, are more vulnerable still, as "...a spiritual community ... seems to offer a sanctuary from our own pain, our past, and our addictive culture" (Grof, 1993, p. 243).

How, then, can students fitting this "profile" in varying degrees feel truly empowered and able to trust their own discrimination process? Frances Vaughan points out that the use of power depends on the willingness to take clear responsibility. That means recognizing that we are always and already carrying out intentions, shaping our environment, and influencing others. The more willing we are to be conscious of our creative potential, the more powerful we become (1995, pp. 139-140). If one is not aware of inner feeling, or does

not know one's own creativity, how can one have a sense of one's own power, let alone be truly powerful in any relationship? We abdicate power every time we refuse to take responsibility for our own mind, for our subjective experience (p. 140).

Looking at the results of poisonous pedagogy, much of the population is adversely affected in terms of feeling empowered or powerful. Unfortunately, that means many showing up at spiritual centers will feel powerless to some extent. They will be prone to abdicate responsibility for personal power and turn it over to a teacher. Obedience becomes a substitute for accountability (p. 141). Surrender, then, is neither to the self nor to God, but to an external authority figure. So again, Vaughan comes to similar conclusions as does Alice Miller. Those with dependency needs that have gone unfulfilled, will be prone to exacerbating them in a teacher/ student relationship and to accepting the teacher's word as absolute truth (p. 132).

Georg Feuerstein sees students, as a whole, embodying the following traits: having a psyche that hasn't grown beyond childish dependence on the all-nurturing mother; being "enthusiastic seekers but hesitant disciples"; coming to the practice and teacher with "open hands but a closed heart," and with the expectation of receiving something without giving anything, meaning themselves, in return (1990, p. 109). These seekers do not want to face mortality, but prefer to fight

imaginary fights. They are scared of the sacred. They think that spiritual practice will be fulfilling; it will make them happy, whether by their own or their teacher's efforts (p. 106). They are often surprised by and ill-equipped for the difficulties of the spiritual path.

Frances Vaughan profiles five categories of students on the spiritual path:

1. The Sycophant, who likes being in the presence of the teacher, is interested in power, likes to feel important, and is a flatterer who caters to the master.

2. The Devotee, who will sacrifice the self for love, wants to be filled up with the master's presence, and who offers gratitude and dependence.

3. The Student, who desires wisdom, wants to demonstrate what he knows, and is willing to work to gain understanding.

4. The Seeker, who is a "free-floating sponge on the spiritual path" and who tries to get as much as possible from the teacher, while still doing his/her own thing and values his/her own judgment more than anyone else's.

5. The Disciple, who desires realization and is willing to be disciplined by the master (1995, pp. 135-136).

In my opinion, anyone who has reached adulthood suffers to some extent the results of ingrained familial and cultural behavioral patterns. This is not to pathologize vast segments of the population. It is simply an acknowledgement that *all*

of us show the "bumps and bruises" of growing up--even teachers.

What is clear is that to be an authentic student "demands a strong ego and a mature personality" (Feuerstein, 1990, p. 163). As beginning students we must be willing to ask ourselves if we are yet authentic students. If a student is not yet mature enough, it is senseless to ask him/her to be discriminating, empowered, and independent in his/her relationship to the teacher. Even for mature students "...in practice it may be difficult to distinguish a genuine spiritual master from a fraudulent one.... If one has not been adequately trained, one can hardly be expected to make appropriate evaluations in this domain [of transcendent reality]" (Vaughan, 1995, p. 145). A responsible teacher will help the student become more integrated, more empowered, and more authentic. That is the expectation. In my opinion it is both a worthy, noteworthy, and essential expectation.

On the Nature of Teachers

To be sure, I feel there is the possibility that some human beings have had searing moments of insight and understanding so profound as to burn away, or to bring to light, all those things in the unconscious which normally remain hidden. In my opinion this kind of experience is quite rare, the chance of our meeting up with just this kind of person as teacher, even rarer. Most of the teachers with whom we come in contact have grown up in the very society we have.

Some of them, of course, have grown up somewhere in Asia. The point is, they have all been children, adolescents, young men and women, and at some point students on the spiritual path. Each has a personal and a societal/cultural "shadow," as we all do. Some have bigger, some smaller shadows--just like the rest of us. Depending on their own teacher, on the spiritual training they have received, on their own life experience, on their psycho/emotional make-up, they have integrated their spiritual experience and the essence of practice with the way they respond to life to a greater or lesser degree. According to conventional psychological theory, we all have an unconscious filled with things we cannot see. In my opinion, this includes most teachers. Their unconscious may be less "filled," but there is likely to be some "residue" still floating about. It is my contention that it is exactly this residue, and the response of both teachers and students to it, that confound our teacher/ student relationships. Kylea Taylor (1995) talks extensively throughout her book about unresolved teacher/therapist issues and how they manifest in countertransference in both personal and transpersonal areas: money, sex, power, love, insight, truth, Oneness.

Any major defect or unresolved issue a therapist (teacher) brings to a treatment setting has "the potential to defeat the process of therapy [spiritual practice]" (Birner, 1992, p. 50). A good therapist (teacher) is ever taking care of his/her own mental state, examining his/her own motivations

(Taylor, 1995, pp. 185-186), and willing to ask for help from peers or from the outside when s/he runs into difficulty (p. 202). Ken Wilber states:

> ...A good master might indeed be fully enlightened and divine, but he or she is also human. ...Further, the fact that a guru has been thoroughly educated in soul and spirit does not mean he or she has been thoroughly educated in body and mind. I have yet to see a guru run a four-minute mile with his "perfect body" or explain Einstein's theory of relativity with his "perfect mind." (1987, p. 258)

Feuerstein (1990), too, insists that teachers' "...spontaneity, powered by the impulse to enlighten others, intermeshes with and is overdetermined by the patterns of the finite body-mind" (p. 243). In other words, the limitations of the finite body and the finite mind are the determining elements of how enlightened impulse is translated into action. One mark of an authentic teacher, Feuerstein insists, would be humility and another the willingness to have students be a mirror for her/him as well as the willingness to mirror the student. This would be evidence that the teacher was doing psychological integration on the "horizontal plane" (everyday reality) (Feuerstein, 1990, p. 245). This, he further explains, happens when the teacher accepts the conditional world, the Real (everyday reality), as manifestation of the Absolute, or Ultimate Reality and does not treat them as oppositional. In my opinion, only a very mature student could discern an authentic teacher early on.

Looking again at personal history and societal/cultural background influencing how we relate interpersonally and

respond to the world, Birner (1987) makes an interesting connection with betrayal. Historically, he suggests, the backgrounds of betrayers include depression and "...reflect a childhood history of deception, loss, and/or parental treachery" (p. 24). He finds that we all experience parental treachery or betrayal in some way as we grow up, and that experiencing betrayal in early years encourages the desire to act out anger and distrust (p. 24).

Birner notes an interesting twist discussed by Sharpe (1978) in her book *Collected Papers on Psychoanalysis* that one of the reasons therapists choose a helping profession may well be to balance that "infantile primitive wish to hurt and to kill" with the desire to help heal (Birner, 1987, p. 24). All therapists share with their clients that experience of "infantile aggression" (p. 24). Birner maintains that "Every person has some experiential history of being betrayed or of betraying the other" (p. 27), and that "The potential for betrayal exists in all professional relationships" (p. 27). In acknowledging that therapists "...too may have in their background an unconscious experiential core based on deception and treachery" (p. 27), we can understand how Birner can maintain that betrayal is not "a conscious or deliberate act" but "...an unconscious repetition, a core transference and neurotic acting-out..." (p. 27). It is in this countertransference that the therapist (teacher) can do great damage to the client (student). When feelings arise from the

unconscious, confuse objectivity and cause misunderstandings about transference; when communication is distorted; when the therapist (teacher) tries to meet his/her own narcissistic needs or is over-intellectualized, paranoid, over-controlling, or obsessive, harming is the result (pp. 27-29). "The true analyst must have the inner honesty and moral strength to seek additional personal analysis or supervision when (sensing) a lack of emotional understanding in any aspect of the professional situation" (p. 30), as not to do so is a betrayal of both therapist and client (p. 30).

Birner points out again that "...any situation where a deep emotional involvement can be experienced, has potential for the experience of betrayal.... The one who betrays injures the other" (p. 30). In addition, "Any treatment situation that has achieved the potential of leading the patient to health creates unconscious guilt and resistances, and challenges the power of the early negative introjects" (p. 30). Although Birner's article is mostly about therapists and clients, he includes professional relationships of all kinds--doctors, lawyers, business relationships, etc. I find the analogy to spiritual teacher/student relationships particularly obvious and informative.

Looking at my own experience of feeling betrayed, I realize that initially I had been only too willing to either condemn my teacher's behavior or ask myself what I had done.

There had to be something wrong with me, with the way I was practicing Zazen; or if my teacher behaved this way, what good was the practice; then again, if it was such an ancient practice, perhaps I was the problem? Whom could I trust with this kind of thinking? While sitting I knew that there was no betrayer, no one to be betrayed and no betrayal. When I got up and had to deal with the situation, the subtle maneuvering and denial of my experience, with my own emotions, things changed. I had trouble making sense of the situation.

The few people I spoke to could not believe our teacher would behave so badly; I must be mistaken; or, worse, it must be my fault. I began to doubt my own insight and powers of observation. Then, in a turnabout, I would become angry at my teacher for behaving in such an unbecoming way, for manipulating and then lying by saying nothing had happened. It didn't make sense. I could not blame myself and take total responsibility for the situation. I could not place all the blame on my teacher either. I was grateful for his teaching and his "good side."

I wanted him to take responsibility for his actions and to admit what he was doing. I could not seem to move forward without that. That would have helped me to take responsibility for my feeling hurt and shocked; after all, how could I feel all this when "nothing happened"?

The breakthrough came with the admission of a Dharma sister that she was suffering similar treatment because she

had brought up the same issues. Somehow this worked what an admission from the teacher might have--it supported my perception; I was not crazy. Something had happened. It allowed me to place this hurtful behavior entirely on the teacher, even if he did not want it. At that point I was free to look at why his behavior was so hurtful to me. Perhaps it was only safe enough to look when I realized that I was not crazy! At the time of the betrayal I had been vulnerable, anxious about being on my own, having left my husband and "broken" our home. Hopes for ever building a meaningful relationship together had dissipated. By moving away from home I had forfeited my work which had given me enormous satisfaction for years. The prospect of teaching Zazen had been compensation for that; I was in training, but now that was jeopardized, there was a loss of direction. Both my mother and my therapist had recently died of breast cancer. Financially I was insecure with no earned income. Loss in every area of my life.

The wounding felt terribly deep. Soul-life-threatening.

Dynamics and Demands in the Teacher/Student Relationship

I suspect that in cases where students have felt deeply betrayed by their teachers, both transference *and* countertransference issues have arisen. Indeed, in the Buddhist sense, they co-arise, making it difficult to say that one thing happens first and the other is a consequence of it.

Quite likely the unresolved issues of both teacher and student influence each other, giving rise to reactions and behaviors. Nowhere are transference/countertransference more critical than in issues of power, trust and surrender.

Trust. Trust is one of the first things demanded of students beginning a spiritual practice. As Feuerstein (1990) notes, trust is basic to the teacher/student relationship and to spiritual life. The student must trust not only the teacher, but life itself--that is, have a well developed sense of basic trust. Trust is a measure of personal maturity (p. 164). Trust rests in part on what Welwood (1987) calls "chemistry," in that "...the specific chemistry between a student and a spiritual master is quite important in determining whether there will be a meeting of two minds" (p. 292).

Why is trust so important in Zen practice? Judith Knist (1995) points out that in order to enter the experience of the moment fully, we must be able to trust. It is essential for the "calm, deep questioning, open stance" (p. 47) needed to look deeper and deeper into ourselves; we need to trust that we will survive what we don't know and what we might learn. Knist says trust is an "interpersonal experience" (p. 48), learned in childhood. The "...early experience of a trusting other leads to the development of the capacity to enter into the unknowing of what in Buddhism is referred to as our 'true nature'" (p. 48). Healthy trust in the other "develops the

capacity for paradox that is fundamental to spiritual practice" (p. 49). Indeed, "Fundamental trust is the basis from which the self is formed and on which the self allows itself to be dissolved. It is the thread that ties psychological and spiritual growth together" (p. 50). In Zen (spiritual) practice, if a student's basic trust is damaged, it must be built up before the student is mature enough for the rigors of practice. Trust must manifest in the teacher/ student relationship for guidance in practice to take place.

Surrender. Knist cites Erikson when she equates the ability to trust with "the ability to surrender to another in the religious dimension" (1995, p. 48). Surrender is another thing required of the Zen student, and the idea of surrender is often confused with submission. Welwood (1987) argues that surrender is "enlivening" (p. 295) and a "step toward empowerment" (p. 296), as "With a genuine spiritual master, surrendering means presenting oneself in a completely honest, naked way, without trying to hold anything back or maintain any facade" (p. 296). Submission on the other hand is a "deadening flight from freedom" (p. 295), a "...giving up our own power to someone who appears to be more powerful" (p. 296). If we feel unworthy and want something from a person, then it is more likely that we will submit to them. If we depend on others for validation, we are more likely to compromise our integrity and thereby trust ourselves less and become more dependent on the teacher (p. 296).

Instead of surrendering to true nature, many students submit to the teacher who often becomes the stand-in for the Divine. "The tendency is to seek a greater Being, to whom one can surrender, subduing one's own emotions in an idealized merger ... the reality of the other is accepted and even revered, while that of the self is denied" (Epstein, 1995, p. 97). Thus, Epstein explains, the only way of restoring self-esteem is to merge with an idealized other, incorporating their power. In spiritual circles this manifests as the need to see the qualities of the awakened mind embodied in some *one*, and can lead to an "eroticized attachment" to the teacher (1995, p. 97). It is important that the student "own" the idealization, otherwise what could be a relationship of skillful means becomes an end in itself, and the student stagnates. The clergy has difficulty, too, for a minister represents, for many people, "...the reality of God" (Grenz, 1995, p. 24), "even the authority of God" (p. 24). When the ministry fails, it betrays trust in power, trust in spiritual authority and trust in the Divine image (pp. 24, 28).

The Divine Image. Teachers must be alert to when students begin to see them as perfect: as a stand-in for the Divine. Such situations have similar dynamics to the "redemptive therapist" mentioned by Hendrika Vande Kemp (1992). The "Christ-like" therapist's [teacher's] job is to reconnect the client [student] who is disconnected from her/his real life, from reality and from God, she maintains,

citing Frankl (1975, p. 75). "The therapist must fit in some way the client's Christ-archetype, as an embodiment and channel for God's grace," facilitating *metanoia* (p. 107), or great change of heart and mind. Vande Kemp cites Caruso (1952/1964) in noting that "countertransference connected with the Christ archetype is more dangerous than sexual countertransference" (p. 107). In my opinion this is one reason that betrayals in the spiritual arena are so devastating. Vande Kemp quotes Doris Mode that "the miraculous element in psychotherapy is the re-establishment of relationship to God, even though another human stirs this into being because s/he too has the same Divine spark and is willing to use it in the interest of serving God--for the patient's release" (Mode, 1956, pp. 51-52).

Within the spiritual teacher/student relationship a wise teacher will gradually disentangle the "halo effect" (Kornfield, 1993, p. 265). The student must come to understand that the teacher, though capable of bringing the student to deep spiritual insight, and wise in some areas, is potentially ignorant in others. This realization allows the student to hold the teachings and her/his own life in equal regard and loving kindness (Kornfield, 1993, p. 265). Feuerstein (1990) confirms: "Genuine teachers will always do their utmost to destroy the disciple's image of them as omnipotent and omniscient father or mother figures" (p. 121).

In the Buddhist Peace Fellowship's *Safe Harbor,* its manual on ethics and right conduct in Buddhist communities, it states that it is the teacher's responsibility to inform students that s/he is not an actualized, fully enlightened being and is just another human being capable of making mistakes. [Zen master Dogen said centuries ago, "A Zen master's life is one continuous mistake."] The teacher should be an example to the student by being willing to learn from everyone and from any situation. "The gravest lie cited in the Vinaya is to boast about directly or even to imply having reached some higher stage in spiritual development" (p. 14). The *Vinaya,* which is Pali for "conduct," is one of three sections in the *Tripitaka.* The *Tripitaka,* or The Three Baskets, is a rare collection of the complete literary works of one of Buddhism's oldest schools, Theravada Buddhism, and is of fundamental importance in any study of Buddhism.

<u>The Teacher/Student Relationship as "Container."</u> In the dynamic between teacher and student, the teacher promotes and supports the student's trust to the point where the student can enter the unknowing and mature spiritually. Their relationship is the container where the student, similar to therapy situations, re-enacts earlier trauma and unresolved issues. As Rutter (1992) points out, the therapist [teacher] must make the container safe enough for this to happen and then be strong enough to hold the transference, responding to it in a new and different way that allows the student to break

a pattern (pp. 66-63). Extra responsibility falls on the therapist [teacher] not to abuse this power, not to re-enact with the student earlier trauma. Especially in working with altered states, students may internalize the teacher's disregard for them or their process and "...escalate ... self-blame exponentially" (Taylor, 1995, p. 157).

In my Buddhist-oriented opinion, the teacher can, by modelling compassion and acceptance, having no definition of self to defend, and no need to define the student, support the student in exploring his/her own nature. Thus the student learns self-compassion and self-acceptance. In turn, this allows a deepening of trust in one's self and one's true nature. This is Buddha seeing Buddha.

Robert Aitken (1997) sums the teacher/student relationship up nicely: there has to be naive openness at first, the relationship matures, there is gradual change until the student says "'You know, roshi, you shouldn't be saying that because it offends people.'" The mature teacher will "...respond by listening and being open and glad that the students are standing on their own two feet" (p. 45).

At the same time, because "Spiritual seekers are always trying to hide from themselves, from the teacher, and from reality" (Feuerstein, 1990, p. 113), "If the teacher is genuine, he or she will do nothing to remove the disciples' deep-seated aggravation about life. ...[even] fan their fire of frustration" (Feuerstein, 1990, p. 112). Feuerstein,

agreeing with many of his references, then proposes that a teacher must knock away all familiar props and habits, one by one, while sustaining the courage and resolve of the seeker. Teachers must treat each seeker individually "dismantling and challenging in the right sequence and at the right speed" (p. 131). This must be done without shocking students into stasis or pushing them beyond their limits. Bogart (1992) stresses the importance of this happening gradually, so the student learns to modify perceptions of the teacher slowly, thus being able to see good and bad in both the teacher and, consequently, him/herself (p. 13). Guiding students beyond their present psychospiritual maturity must be done with compassion and tolerance, making sure that each student always has the tools to resurrect him/herself (Feuerstein, 1990, p. 248).

Two Views of Betrayal

The Role of Betrayal

James Hillman (1965), in his marvelously crafted article "Betrayal," puts betrayal in a larger, archetypal context. He maintains that original infant/mother primal trust (as in the Garden of Eden) is searched for and reconstructed in close relationships which are no longer of the fundamental feminine sort, but rest in the security of the logos, as they are born of the word, the promise. In the reconstituted security of this relationship, one's weakness, darkness, helplessness can again be exposed. The need of such secure relationship is

basic to and evident in analysis; what one is in need of, really, is closeness with God (p. 59). In my opinion, the parallel to teacher/student relationships is evident. I also believe that the search for this "God-closeness" is one of the reasons students choose a spiritual practice, including Zazen.

The only way out of the Garden and into life, Hillman suggests, is through Eve--through betrayal and expulsion (disillusion/unmasking of the teacher). "We are led to an essential truth about both trust and betrayal: they contain each other" (p. 60). They come into the world at the same time (in the sense of Buddhist dependent co-arising) and "we can be truly betrayed only where we truly trust" (p. 60). Hillman goes on to explain that where primal trust is broken, "all are betrayed in the treachery of life created by God" (p. 62), and "broken trust is at the same time a breakthrough onto another level of consciousness" (p. 61).

There are dangerous outcomes of betrayal. The first is the defense mechanism of denial: "one is tempted to deny the value of the other person" (p. 65). The second is cynicism. Denial of the value of the particular person and relationship is extended to all life situations. "Cynicism, that sneer against one's own star, is a betrayal of one's own ideals, a betrayal of one's own highest ambitions.... This leads to the third, and I believe main, danger; self-betrayal" (p. 67).

In the trust relationship, one allows something to open that holds one's deepest values. When that trust is betrayed,

"one doesn't want to be hurt again, and since this hurt came about through revealing just what one is, one begins not to express life openly any more" (p. 68). This describes accurately my own experience, for that became my main struggle --to express life openly. Indeed, at the beginning of this study in my own story I posed the question whether the ultimate betrayal were not self-betrayal.

Hillman then looks at the betrayer, who often refuses to alleviate the suffering, give an account of him/herself, or explain. The betrayed is left to make meaning through his/her own interpretation of the event, which is possible if he/she does not fall into one of the three above-mentioned traps. Hillman alludes to the betrayer who, aware of his/her own limitations and fallibility, and the forces of life, consciously betrays (perhaps like some old Zen, or crazy wisdom, masters?), but what happens in the realm of betrayals most often now-a-days seems to happen "through the autonomous left side, unconsciously" (p. 70)

Hillman holds that the capacity to lead others is related to the capacity to betray others.

> In so far as psychological leading has for its aim the other's self-help and self-reliance, the other will in some way at some point be led down or let down to his own level; that is, turned back from human help, betrayed into himself where he is alone. (p. 71)

Hillman uses the betrayal of Jesus as archetypal background for understanding the betrayed. Alone on the cross, he has been let down and failed; the primal trust between him and God

is broken. It is this experience that allows one to find out what supports oneself when one can no longer do the job alone.

In cases of betrayal it is helpful to discern whether the elements of love or necessity initiated the betrayal. A good way to discern brute from sage is to look for love's opposite, power. "If betrayal is perpetrated mainly for personal advantage ... then one can be sure that love had less the upper hand than did the brute, power" (p. 72). The very act of discerning, of looking at the issues of love and necessity, is therapeutic and the struggle itself can lead to "one of the highest of religious feelings: forgiveness" (p. 73).

Hillman goes so far as to suggest that forgiveness is perhaps the only positive outcome of betrayal and becomes possible only if one has been betrayed. "Neither trust nor forgiveness could be fully realized without betrayal" (p. 74). Interestingly, Hillman says that if the betrayer rationalizes the betrayal and only the betrayed sees the wrong, the betrayal is still going on. The betrayer needs to carry, or recognize his/her guilt. This may even be necessary for full forgiveness to take place. Without recognition, the betrayer remains stuck. Forgiveness requires atonement.

Kornfield (1993) agrees that disillusionment is "a powerful and fiery gate, one of the purest teachers of awakening, independence, and letting go that we will ever encounter" (p. 269). However, he warns, the experience may open our eyes, but close our hearts. "The great challenge of

disillusionment is to keep our eyes open and still remain connected with the great heart of compassion" (p. 269). Like Hillman, Kornfield finds that "...when the teacher and community are unwilling to deal with their problems, we will experience extraordinary pain" (p. 268).

Birner (1987) cites Reik's (1968) "Der eigene und der fremde Gott" in *American Imago* in picking up Hillman's Christ analogy to explain the dynamics of self-betrayal. He sees Christ and Judas as two parts of the same ego:

> When Christ took his position as rebel leader and Son of God, Judas took the position of disbeliever. Christ rebelled against the rabbis and Yahweh; Judas sided with the rabbis and rebelled against Christ. Together, Christ and Judas symbolize an ego conflict: Christ rebels against the rabbis of the temple; Judas represents the guilt and ensuing punishment for the rebellious act. (Birner, 1987, p. 30)

Birner believes that student "acts of independence, rebellion, and maturity can stimulate ... potential for self-betrayal" (p. 30), that guilt and uncertainty can be evoked by the maturation process, and that self-deception can often block the road to maturity (p. 30). He also mentions that "Any emotionally rewarding situation has the potential of stimulating enough unconscious guilt and conflict to cause one to undo the very reward itself" (p. 31).

Self-Betrayal

Arno Gruen (1986) takes a long, hard look at how the self is betrayed; how we unconsciously betray the self/ourselves. It is "...the substitution of another's will for our own [that] causes us to lose the ability to function autonomously"

(p. 20). Throughout his book *The Betrayal of the Self: The Fear of Autonomy in Men and Women*, he makes a case for the fact that we learn to do this as children. Because we are so powerless when we are young, we survive by doing the will of others--parents, teachers, society, etc. Adaptation promises us emotional and social stability (p. 20). The resulting splitting off of our feelings "makes it extremely difficult for a self to emerge on the basis of our own experience" (p. 20). When we yield to the demands of those upon whom we are dependent, we begin "to equate freedom with disobedience" (p. 21). Our vitality and zest for life become our enemies, our very self becomes our enemy. "We want to escape responsibility because we are deeply afraid of having a self of our own" (p. 22). Responsibility to realize ourselves becomes a threat.

Gruen insists that we need to confront our own helplessness and the betrayal of our autonomy. What we usually do instead, is to repress our helplessness, at the same time internalizing the contempt of those who have "oppressed" us (p. 28). In this way we "...commit betrayal of the self" (p. 28), and disguised hatred of ourselves and others becomes a major force in our lives (p. 28).

How, then, does this manifest in our behavior? One example that weaves into the theme of teacher/student relationships is "admiration." If we admire someone for who they are, and even more, if "...we become like the powerful

person we idealize, then no one can find us" (p. 76). The price we pay for idealizing and identifying is loss of self (there is no "us" or "I"). We also use this game of admiration to bring down the one we idealize. "This is the revenge of the oppressed: 'You aren't the way you promised to be!'" (p. 76). Idealizing a love object allows us to keep our distance from the real person. We get close only to the one we have imagined. When our admiration is gone, the person has disappointed us.

So we submit again and again to those who appear strong and dominating, who demand great self-sacrifice of us (p. 81). "Nothing evokes a messianic atmosphere--a feeling of sanctity --more than subordination to a 'higher' cause" (p. 81). We turn against our own principles and feelings when we are summoned "to battle," and then feel ennobled. Children who were not allowed to have a self take revenge "...by sacrificing themselves to their last breath for a leader, holy man, or god" (p. 83). "Underneath the 'idealism' and 'noble motives'", says Gruen, "lurks the stored-up rage of the wounded child whose autonomy has been impaired" (p. 83).

Only inner transformation leads to the well-being we seek, not the approbation of authority figures to whom we submit (p. 86). Gruen points to the Gnostic Gospel of St. Thomas (Pagels, 1979, p. 30) where Jesus tells the disciples he is not their master, pointing out that they have become who they are because they have drunk from the "bubbling stream"

which he (Jesus) has measured out. In other words, Jesus points to a way in which authority can be accepted without giving up the self. This type of acknowledgement of authority can lead to psychological growth (p. 83).

Though we are subjected to the lie of power and suffer from it, we also identify with it. We exchange one form of it for another, thinking to rebel, but actually repeat the submission of the self, and do not create an authentic self (pp. 87-88).

> The suffering involved in discovering one's own self is of an entirely different nature from the suffering that opts for salvation by identifying with something outside the self. Only those who can endure their own suffering are capable of establishing themselves as a separate entity. If we always hope, as Proust put it, that the person who caused our suffering is the same one who has the power to lessen our pain, then we will believe in the lie of power, always searching for the authority figure who will corroborate the lie and never finding what is divine in ourselves. (p. 88)

The Integration of Betrayal

Betrayal is often traumatic. Gilead Nachmani (1995) reminds us that "It is common to think of the trauma as an event in its own right, and not appreciate that the cascade of effects of the trauma may be far worse, more traumatic than the trauma itself" (p. 425). The inability to make sense and meaning, the "paralysis of creative and adaptive thinking," the inability to relate to others in reliable, "supportive ways that facilitate mental growth," "to sustain a fundamental sense of the order of relatedness ..." are some of what must be contended with in the aftermath of betrayal (p. 425).

The dynamics of betrayal are set in motion when we do not speak up about how we are feeling. Peter Rutter (1992) sees that both clients and therapists (teachers and students) "are afflicted by familial and cultural conspiracies to deny the truth of what is occurring at the intimate, interpersonal boundary" (p. 70). Further, he says that when what we perceive conflicts with social or family order, "...we are encouraged to turn against and devalue ourselves and our capacity to know the truth about what is happening at the boundary" (p. 70). It is especially necessary for the therapist (teacher) to speak up and admit they, too, "can become pathologically symptomatic at any time" (p. 70). In my opinion, the ability of the betrayer to admit to his/her behavior is of paramount importance to the healing process.

When there is a deep sense of betrayal, there is an end to the teacher/student relationship, or certainly to the way it was. The "...ending of a ... relationship with a spiritual teacher may induce a frightening sense of being 'betwixt and between'" (Bogart, 1992, p. 15), because the student's identity as disciple is suspended. Even if the student knows it is time to be independent, s/he can suffer "considerable guilt, anxiety, and remorse ... regarding the separation" (Bogart, 1992, p. 15). As Bogart explains, the student must learn to not only overcome those, but "learn to feel worthy of becoming an independent person..." (p. 15). The "identity crisis and sense of loss" are greater when the student

separates out of an "angry, negative, projective reaction" (p. 15). The task, then, is like that of artists who have needed to "appoint themselves artists in the face of social disapproval or ridicule, so, too, the growth of the creative personality requires severing symbiotic ties in an act of 'self-appointment'" (Bogart, 1992, p. 15).

The teaching relationship is not an end in itself, it is a transitional one and is expected to lead beyond itself (p. 19). Even if it ends through betrayal, the student may yet "triumph," going beyond the relationship if s/he can self appoint, make meaning or sense, sustain or repair appropriate ways of relating to others, use the experience to become more autonomous, and/or learn to listen to and trust the still small voice inside.

As Peter Marin says, we must recognize that as students we may have behaved in just the way we were brought up to behave--in the acceptance of authority. But it is not just that,

> It is the inability to hear the still, small, quiet human voice that says *no*, that speaks for nothing but itself, that makes no claim to any authority other than the heart, and asserts no power other than its own. It is to *this* voice, fragile but binding, that one owes allegiance, to this that he must listen, rather than to the whisperings of secret powers, the thunderings of authority, or even the promise of salvation itself. (1979, p. 55)

In a discussion of abandonment and betrayal in love relationships, Carotenuto (1989) makes some interesting comments that may also apply to spiritual betrayals. He

suggests that such experiences are the path to adulthood because they make us face our primal loss (p. 80). They also allow us to experience the integration of ambivalence. He insists that both betrayer and betrayed know what the other is doing, only they do not talk about it; there is mutual, though unconscious, complicity (p. 81). We are both knowing and unknowing, noble and base, altruistic and narcissistic. Seeing the ambiguity in the other and in ourselves is important. Carotenuto continues: if we "...set ourselves up as judges and make a wholesale condemnation of the other..." (or ourselves), we "deny anything good and lovable we ever saw in that person" (p. 80). When betrayal ends a relationship, it "...makes us aware of our incompleteness and nails us to our inadequacy" (p. 83).

Communal Responses to Betrayal Experiences

In response to difficulties that have arisen in groups around the country, many Zen centers have implemented ethical guidelines and codes. These detail the process to be taken if the student feels that either teachers or other students have behaved unethically or are not practicing right conduct. Centers have begun to recognize the importance of having guidelines in place *before* misconduct takes place. Guidelines are in place at the San Francisco Zen Center, the Berkeley Zen Center, the Mountain View Zen Center, and Robert Aitken's Palolo Zen Center, for example. The Vipassana centers at

Spirit Rock in California and the Insight Meditation Society in Barre, Massachusetts also have guidelines.

A shift in thinking seems to be taking place enabling communities to entertain the idea that teachers are fallible and communities can be accomplices in misconduct. Similar shifts in consciousness are happening in churches around the problem of sexual misconduct between clergy and congregants. An article in *Grail* by McHugh (1991) reveals a new found ability to demand an accountable leadership and shared church/laity powers, and also to demand and receive a response from those who abuse. This points to a new maturity in the community (p. 33). Marie Fortune has also done remarkable work in pastoral relationships.

I think these new found abilities may be connected to the growing ability of the sexually abused to now come forward and tell their stories, and the growing ability of communities and individuals to listen. The second basic guideline for resolving conflicts in San Francisco Zen Center's ethics statement is "Being Heard" (Ethical Principles and Procedures for Grievance and Reconciliation, San Francisco Zen Center, no date, p. 15). The ability to listen opens the way for review of the communal shadow and precludes the victim being shut out. The lack of people willing to listen and believe has traditionally been the hardest hurdle for the abused, whether sexually mistreated, physically/emotionally battered, or spiritually betrayed (Dominelli, 1989; Finkelhor & Browne,

1986; Fortune, 1994; Herman, 1997). The ability to listen points to a new awareness. In accepting the reality of abuse and misconduct, we grow as a community.

There is, I think, also a growing recognition that students must be "protected" while practicing. At the same time there may be a growing introspection among students who are beginning to recognize some of their own responsibility in "protecting" themselves. Both the community as a whole and the teacher as an individual may be at the cusp of recognizing the enormity of teacher responsibility and the role a community, in conjunction with the teacher, plays in freedom of communication and the feeling of safety within the practice group. The best-laid guidelines and codes are only as good as the freedom to use them is alive and well in the community. In my opinion, it is the teacher's job to encourage students to express feelings of dissent and to model openness to differing opinions and criticism. I believe students must then take responsibility for exercising that invitation and also for nourishing their own witnessing ability. There is a joint responsibility to create an atmosphere of integrity within the sangha; at the same time, I hold that the teacher's responsibility is ultimately greater than any other.
Like child molesters, therapists, and clergy, professors, physicians, etc., Zen teachers have the ultimate responsibility for maintaining appropriate boundaries. Though we might look at the "big picture" and recognize the dependent

co-arising, interrelated nature of betrayals, this must not "...divert attention from the only appropriate focus: holding the abuser accountable for the abuse" (Cooper-White, 1991, p. 199).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The ability to dance is freedom from kharma.
Robert Aitken (1984, p. 107)

The "filler." I just cannot get the filler right! Standing in front of my Ikebana arrangement, I am frustrated and impatient. On the table is a beautiful green container; wonderful branches flow gracefully out of the mouth of the container, spilling over into the space above and around it. Free-style arrangement based on collage effect. Really, I am thrilled with the lines--strong, yet light. Within minutes I had cleaned up the branches, cutting off excess leaves and twigs, opening up the visual lines. Only a few more minutes and they were anchored into the vase at just the right angles and relationships to each other. Now, for more than an hour I have been trying to arrange supporting stems and "filler," the small finishing touches that camouflage the edge of the container and hide the bases of the branches or the place where they come together. In a flash I see the parallel to my own life and to the dissertation process. How easy it is for me to see the big picture! Just don't bother me with the details. I know what I want to do and how. Just don't make me explain it in the context of a methodology. Why make a detailed procedure out of everything? I am so frustrated that I want to quit. I want things to work--immediately and the first time around! Then I have a dream about stealing very

expensive jewelry from a clock and watch shop. Somehow the dream is showing me that I need to rescue the essence, the jewels, from the time shop. Do I need to run away from the time constraints I have put on myself in order to save the essence of the dissertation? Slow down. Contemplate impatience. It will get done. I decide to do just that. Relax. Balance my life more. Remember to follow the intuitive. Allow the process to germinate--the cthonic process. The "filler" and fruits will follow.

Rationale and Review of Relevant Methodological Literature

This study grew out of my own experience and story; it grew out of personal challenge and the effort to understand myself and the world better. There was a passionate concern compelling me to discover the meaning that spiritual betrayal has for those who have experienced it, as I believe that there are broader, communal implications to be found in the understanding of that experience. From inquiring into myself I found my curiosity tweaked to "deepen and extend the understanding through the eyes and voices of others" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 17). In my experience, people's voices are best heard when they can simply tell their story. Ashworth (1987) maintains the following:

> ...the meaning of the situation is a Gestalt - a total configuration in which each element is is implicated intrinsically in the meaning of each other and of the whole - so that the meaning of the situation is more than the sum of whatever elements seem to constitute it. (p. 39)

I have looked for the effects and meaning of teacher/ student betrayal in peoples' lives. Because story "...allows the researcher to communicate from a deep and personal place directly to the depths of the reader" (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/1998, p. 80), I find it an excellent medium for conveying meaning and creating a Gestalt that can touch and offer the possibility of transformation to researcher, co-researcher, and reader alike.

Ashworth, in his article on "The Descriptive Adequacy of Qualitative Findings," cites numerous authors (Merleau-Ponty, Giorgi, Gurwitsch among others) from various schools of thought who "...have shown that human beings are best regarded as acting out of an awareness of the meaning of the situation they are in - so meanings, rather than - 'causal variables', are basic units of research" (Ashworth, 1987, p. 39). These meanings, he goes on to say, "cannot be reduced to a number of separate factors acting on individuals as discrete influences" (p. 39). Profound human experiences such as betrayal can certainly be studied in detail and analyzed using quantitative research. The question is whether they can be meaningfully studied without revealing the relationship between the details. For myself, I chose to investigate the topic of betrayal in a more holistic way, allowing the experience and its aftermath in people's lives to unfold in context and also to touch the readers in the context of their lives.

As Linenberg (1990) pointed out in his phenomenological study of betrayal, one would be hard put to reconstruct the phenomenon in a controlled, or laboratory situation. Not only is it that betrayal cannot be neatly quantified and measured, neither can it be forced into a formal causal framework. In addition, I suspect it would be difficult to predict in what situations people would feel betrayed. Ashworth (1987) points out that under these conditions "...qualitative methods become the preferred techniques of research in the human sciences" (p. 39).

Because the topic of this study stems from my own experience and does not lend itself to controlled measurement, because I value the use of story, and because I am interested in meaning and a Gestalt, not only in isolated bits of information, I looked to heuristic and organic approaches that suit not only the topic and my research goal, but also who I am. Heuristic research "emphasizes connectedness and relationship"; depicts "essential meanings"; "may involve reintegration of derived knowledge" in an "act of creative discovery"; is a synthesis including "intuition and tacit understanding"; and retains the essence of the person in the experience" (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 43). I feel that this study has done exactly those things.

These emphases and intentions are found also in the organic approach which has very much a "Zen-like" quality about it, so this became a qualitative study--a blend of

organic/heuristic methodology informed by transpersonal methods. It involved both participant reflection and my own "mapping" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 50) when working with the findings. It utilized intuition, tacit knowing, creative expression, quiet, and co-researcher participation as found in both methodologies. In addition, my own experience was "up front" and utilized in the research process, which is also part of both methodologies. My story and the personal stories of the participants are the mutual cornerstone of organic and heuristic research methods. Not only do the stories stand by themselves and invite the reader to "analyze" for him/herself (an integral part of organic methodology), but I have reflected on all material myself and (using an heuristic approach) have presented it in "...a creative synthesis, an original interaction of the material that reflects the researcher's intuition, imagination, and personal knowledge of meanings and essences of the experience" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 50). More about the analysis is found in the sections on procedure and treatment of data.

The "fundamental technique" of organic research is simply presentation of the story--"telling and listening" to the story (Clements, Ettling, Jennet, & Shields, draft manuscript 4/98, p. 92) of the researcher as well as the story(ies) of the co-researcher(s). According to Mischler, "...telling stories is one of the significant ways individuals construct and express meaning" (Mischler, 1995, p. 67). James Hillman

puts it this way: "Story-awareness provides a better way than clinical-awareness for coming to terms with one's own case history" (Hillman, 1979, p. 43).

The full meaning of profound human experience such as betrayal cannot be grasped only logically, linearly, or in a cause and effect way. Although such research can give detailed descriptions of qualities or of process, it leaves untouched the felt essence of the experience. It sees the experience outside of a feeling context. One loses the experiencer as "Mensch," and not only that, one can lose oneself as "Mensch" in the process. It is difficult to understand the experience without comprehending the experiencer as a composite whole, woven into the fabric of circumstance. It is also difficult to understand an experience in the "whole" or "holistic" sense without one's own heart being involved.

Neither can betrayal experiences be explained with detailed clinical descriptions of the so-called "pathologies" of those betrayed. In my opinion, even Linenberg's qualitative research (1990) falls into this very trap. In his phenomenological study of betrayal, his isolation of clinical characteristics and his clinical explanations wring the very life, the essence, the anguish of the experience, and the felt essence of transformation from his participants' experiences. He leaves the reader less of a thick, rich story with which to empathize and resonate, and thereby less of a transformative

experience, which may result from such stories. The heart is left relatively untouched; understanding remains on the intellectual level. On the contrary, it is just these qualities that I hope are retained in my own study; and I am well aware that I have, at the same time, sacrificed a more linear, clinical interpretation, and presentation. I wanted to uncover and retain the compassionate heart/essence in the experience, in the participants, and in the research itself.

Stories allow the listeners/readers to submerge themselves in the thickness, to imagine, to sense/feel in themselves, to empathize and resonate, to understand non-rationally as well as intellectually; they "communicate directly to the psyche of the reader" (Clements et al., draft manuscript, 4/98, p. 92). For human "...story is ... something lived in and lived through, a way in which the soul finds itself in life" (Hillman, 1979, p. 45). I believe stories are never invalid; they are a piece of experience. Zen practice alludes to the experience of satori through the use of stories; its literature abounds with stories--nonlogical stories. Maupin (1962), in his psychological review of Zen Buddhism, attributes this a-logical quality and the use of story to three sources which pertain also to the understanding of an experience such as betrayal (pp. 362-363).

First, he says, it is easy to describe the content of an experience, but very difficult to describe the quality of it. I find it necessary to understand the quality of betrayal

experiences from the heart as well as the head; stories together offer a more complete sense of the experience.

Second, Zen seeks to get beyond concepts to the experience itself; concepts are "*about* the topic" but do not allow us to see/experience "the thing itself" (p. 363). Story, with its nonlinear, feeling aspect, may allow the reader to get closer to "the thing itself."

Third, Maupin mentions, the nonlogical quality of Zen literature is a result of the nonlogical quality of satori, which is inexpressible given the limits of our "...language posited on a subject/object dichotomy..." (p. 363). As betrayal strains the logical view of how the world works and the logical assumptions on which relationships are built, it throws the person experiencing it into an illogical mode where nothing fits--an inexpressible, altered state (Linenberg, 1990). A collection of stories, rather than descriptions, may give the reader a better chance of discovering the nebulous essence of the betrayal experience and how it affects lives. To use a Zen analogy, stories are the fingers pointing at the moon.

From the inception of this research idea, it was my intention to work from a place of "no-blame," with a heart of compassion for both the betrayer and the betrayed. Compassion allows one to see with the heart what the data/stories present, to understand what is not immediate and overt, but subtle and covert (tacit)--that which is, ultimately, the

essence of people's experience. The emphasis on compassion has been fueled by my own betrayal experience which has enabled me to more easily resonate with my co-researchers' stories, and has allowed me "...to lean gently into the experiences of others for deeper understanding" (Anderson, 1998, p. 72) of both them and myself.

In organic research, the researcher/interviewer's own personal experience is the filter through which the story is both understood and analyzed, and "...the organic approach sees the inherent intimacy of this situation as an opportunity to travel deeper into the psyches of the co-researchers" (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 91). The researcher as well as the co-researcher/participant are continually informed and transformed by what is being told (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, pp. 57-59; Mischler, 1995, p. 97) and also by the personal interaction during the interview. Personal experience can be helpful when making participants feel comfortable and safe enough to reveal their stories. It can be useful when empathizing and feeling into the data for data analysis. But personal experience can also get in the way by influencing story content, swaying participants' perceptions, overlooking data or reading more into data than is there.

I had two clinicians on my committee and was in personal therapy while researching and writing this study; with help and advice I hope I have avoided the worst of these pitfalls.

By continually processing my own feelings around betrayal, I became aware of "raw" spots, things that still bothered me, or "hooked" me. That awareness led me to be less prone to invite focus on that particular thing when a participant alluded to it; less prone to "seduce" a participant into talking about something that held less meaning for him/her than it did for me; and less prone to interpret what a participant had to say about a particular aspect as terribly meaningful or important, when, in fact, it was not. My committee clinicians were good not only in talking me through, but also at catching me up in print.

As there was no hypothesis to prove for this dissertation, there was no pressure to get certain results. The goal was simply to illumine and inform, to expand awareness about a certain experience and so, perhaps, to transform. The more detailed, thick, and rich the story, the better. The co-researchers' reflections, insights, and interpretations flowed into the analysis and interpretation of data. This involvement, sharing, and participating with others who have experienced betrayal, has, I think, helped to empower some of the co-researchers.

There cannot be a better methodology choice than organic research for a Zen practitioner researching a subject that has so touched and shaken Zen communities. In the draft manuscript *If Research Were Sacred: An Organic Approach* (Clements, et al., draft manuscript 4/98, pp. 90-94), there

are eight guidelines for developing a method out of organic methodology. They apply equally well to Zen practice, also an organic process -- intuitive, non-linear, immediate, ultimately changing -- and are indicators for the choice of this methodology.

1. The first guideline (not in manuscript order): *the research topic is "rooted in the researcher's own personal experience and the study is reported in the researcher's own voice"* (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 91) is a mirror of Zen practice. In Zen practice, knowing is rooted not in concepts but in the personal experience of the meditator and is reflected in his/her own behavior/voice. The topic of betrayal is rooted in my own experience of it and this dissertation is my voice. This subjectivity has allowed a deep understanding of the data collected, and along with empathic listening and dialogue, has informed a compassionate synthesis, analysis, and presentation of the data.

My experience has colored what I saw, heard, asked. It was the filter through which information and stories reached me. I tried to gather "...the full scope of my observations, thoughts, feelings, senses, and intuitions...," so they would "...open new channels for clarifying a topic, question, problem, or puzzlement" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 13). Both organic and heuristic research see the original data as within the researcher, the "challenge is to discover and explicate

its nature," in the process "actively awakening and transforming my own self" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 13).

2. Organic research *"presupposes a moderately high level of consciousness about the researcher's own psycho-spiritual development"* (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 92). This is true of who I am, true of the co-researchers as well, for not only did our psycho-spiritual longing bring us to the practice of Zazen, but our experiences in the practice, including betrayal, have deepened that development. That level of consciousness will be true of many who will be moved to read about this topic. It has allowed a deep, compassionate, awareness of the subject matter. Clements et al., point out, "It also requires discretion on the part of the researchers to know when to reveal their own and others' innermost issues and when to contain them. The revealing of inner material which is unresolved can be damaging" (draft manuscript 4/98, p. 92). My psycho-spiritual understanding of the "mechanics and meaning" of my experience is deep and well-explored. It has enabled me to both "identify with... and learn from" the experiences told by the co-researchers (draft manuscript 4/98, p. 92); it helped me discern what needed to be revealed.

3. Organic research *"grows out of a reverence for the sacred aspects of the topic ... and may include non-rational and non-verbal ways of gathering and reporting data"* (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 91). My personal work

around betrayal and the writing of this dissertation has been sacred. This whole project is steeped in my spiritual practice. My practice included the work that had been done, what was happening in the moment and even what which was lying in wait. The work was the practice was the research was the practice.

The work grew from the recognition of its sacredness and that of the co-researchers, our process together, the readers and those who betrayed. Our stories are indeed sacred, as are the implications and insights revealed by them. Zen teaching reveals that everything is sacred and, paradoxically, nothing is sacred.

This work also grew intuitively. Zen practice releases and nurtures the practitioner's intuition, so that life is approached not only through the mind, but through the heart. As I practiced, researched, and wrote, intuition played an important role. This non-rational aspect guided the interview process, and the interpretation and presentation of data, just as it constantly informed the literature review and methodology. Understanding these stories of betrayal involved both "implicit knowledge inherent in the tacit and the explicit knowledge which is observable and describable," and the bridge between the two is the intuitive (Moustakas, 1990, p. 23). I believe the intuitive recognizes the sacred.

Compassion, too, is a non-rational, sacred, and transpersonal aspect of this work. I experienced myself

"...bringing the compassionate heart to scientific inquiry--to the way we ask our questions, set our hypotheses, devise our instruments, conduct our investigations, analyze our data, construct our theories, and speak to our readers, our audience..." (Anderson, 1998, p. 71). Zen practice nourishes inclusivity, compassion, equanimity, non-judgment, acceptance, right intention, and discrimination. The loving-kindness and compassion practices, the Brahma Viharas, were consistently part of my practice throughout the work on this dissertation. Silent retreats were also part of the process. Most of those involved in this research will have a sense of the non-rational, and of the sacred.

Stories of traumatic events are by nature not wholly rational. Non-rational experiences demand intuitive, non-rational processing and methodologies that encompass these ways of knowing and working. Several of the interviewees used writing to help them work through their experience, but they did not share their material. One woman used Tibetan mandala painting. She shared an unfinished piece with me. My own creative pieces enabled me to hold the memories of the interviews, the interviewees, and my impressions of their stories more accurately. These creative pieces--Ikebana, Japanese flower arrangements, one for each interviewee--are included after each story. Moustakas also suggests creative ways of making meaning of experience and of synthesizing data. Creative synthesis is a non-rational process in heuristic

methodology involving solitude and meditation as essential to the inspiration needed.

4. Organic research "*...depends on the creativity of the researcher and is expected to evolve over the course of the investigation*" (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 92). Certainly this describes the unique and individual path through which each Zen student manifests the practice and the creative way each Zen teacher evolves and presents the dharma. Zen is the practice of becoming aware of the ever-evolving moment. I was very attentive to my creative process while researching and writing. Sometimes dreams, most often meditative insight, and intuition influenced and guided the work. The willingness to listen into myself about how to map and analyze the data and how to present it, produced an unusual collaboration with the interviewees and resonators. My dreams, insights, and intuition were nurtured by meditation practice, Ikebana, relaxation, movement, and attending consciously to my life while researching and writing. In the reflective aspects of the research, I reported on changes in my own perceptions, on transformation, and on healing in myself.

5. "*...the goal of organic research is transformative change for the reader..., the co-researchers and the researcher*" (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 93). Transformation does not mean 180-degree-turn-arounds or earth-shaking alterations in temperament. Transformation includes

the changes/shifts that are part of the path towards self-realization; it certainly can include the aforementioned, but it also includes smaller changes of heart and perception that lead one to respond differently or with different intention and behavior. Sometimes these shifts are unobservable to others, but we know and notice them ourselves. Transformative change can bring a sense of healing, of a more complete assimilation. It can be a deepening of perception or a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding. Sometimes it is as simple as the satisfaction of helping and supporting others in the sharing of our own experience. We may not even understand exactly what has happened, but something is different and we know it. At other times, we may be hardly aware of any shift at all and it is our friends who are the first to observe those tiny, transformative changes.

Illumination, or the sudden insights occurring in the heuristic process, allow for new awareness, modifications of old understandings and new discoveries (Moustakas, 1990, p. 30). Transformation *is* change. The reflection phases built into the study for both researcher and participants encouraged meaning-making, taking stock of changes in perception and understanding, inner questioning, awareness of process, and noting empathy. I think elements of transformation occurred for all the participants.

Clements et al. (draft manuscript, 4/98, p. 204) quotes Dorothy Ettling in describing organic research: "Personal

transformation is the on-going process of becoming fully oneself and sharing that with others. Through it, one knows and experiences connectedness and unity with all that is. It is the path of a consciously chosen spiritual journey" (Ettling, 1994, p. 240). These words also describe the path of Zen practice which ripens the student for experiencing Oneness, compassion and the interconnectedness of all that is. On-going transformation has been part of the process of the consciously chosen spiritual journey of researching and writing this dissertation. I became ever more willing to be changed and influenced by the work, by what was discovered and revealed. I felt the power of understanding a larger contextual picture, of connection with others of similar experience. There has been a shift in how I view myself in my own story; an acceptance of who I was in the experience of betrayal. More than that, when looking at all the influences on the teacher/student relationship, the interconnectedness of *all* beings is so apparent that I am touched by a great sense of compassion for all of us in the play of the dharma.

6. *"The fundamental technique of organic research is telling and listening to stories"* (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p 92). This was discussed in detail in the introduction of the methodology, relating it to elements of Zen story telling. Additional details are discussed in the procedure section. Because the study of betrayal is based on my own story and because the data are co-researchers' stories,

my experience plus my intuitive/intellectual apprehension and interpretation become central to the study. Heuristic, as well as organic, methods incorporate these qualities (Moustakas, 1990). These qualities were invaluable to me in the analysis and discussion sections, and also in re-writing the stories, each of which possesses its own specific and concrete character, which contributes to its being universal (Anderson, 1998, p. 75 quote Lanier). This, in turn, creates resonance in the reader.

7. *"Organic data are analyzed through the personal reflections of the researcher as a model to encourage the reader of the study to personally engage with the data"* (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 93). In earlier drafts this guideline included the co-researchers as well. I feel that to engage them, and readers as well, with the data is to encourage empowerment and healing both groups, because there is a demand that all involved think for themselves and come to their own conclusions. Each individual analyzes and makes meaning for him/herself. This is one of the lessons of the Buddha, to trust one's own experience and not follow blindly anyone's teachings. Zen practice leads one to the experience of things as they are. I hope that one outcome of this research is that readers and co-researchers will be encouraged to think for and to trust themselves. Encouraging everyone involved to do their own analysis allows each conclusion its own validity. It also supports a kind of inner

validity for the research, promoting an interconnected sensing of what is valuable and genuine in the shared experience.

Each co-researcher was asked to review the story written about them to make sure all the important aspects of their experience were included. The co-researchers were also asked to read the completed stories of the other participants, to reflect on them, and to give feedback about their reactions to them. The reviews and reflections became checks for an inner validity of description and essence.

I reflected on both the stories and the reflections of the co-researchers. All these reflections are like ever-widening circles of "checks" for inner validity which ultimately become part of the analysis. This is explained in greater detail in the procedure section. Checking back with the co-researchers is a method of validating data in heuristic methodology. According to Moustakas (1990):

> In heuristic investigations, verification is enhanced by returning to the research participants, sharing with them the meanings and essences of the phenomenon as derived from reflection on and analysis of the ... interviews and other material, and seeking their assessment for comprehensiveness and accuracy. (p. 34)

The reader is also expected to take part in the analysis. The ability of the stories to awaken resonance in the reader is an important external validity check. Anderson (1998), introducing "sympathetic resonance," describes it thus:

> The resonance communicates and connects directly and immediately without intermediaries except for air and space. The principle of sympathetic resonance introduces resonance as a validation procedure for

> the researcher's particular intuitive insights and syntheses. The principle suggests that research can function more like poetry in its capacity for immediate apprehension and recognition of an experience spoken by another and yet (surprisingly and refreshingly, perhaps) be true for oneself as well. (p. 114)

To "test" sympathetic resonance, the stories of the co-researchers were given to a second group of people (resonators) within the Zen community--teachers and students, who had not been "in" on the research thus far. They were asked to read the stories, give a written response, and then convene for a group discussion of their responses and insights. This group, hopefully much like the readers of this dissertation will, "resonated" quite strongly with the interviewees and their stories. They were pulled into the sense of betrayal by the stories themselves, much in the same way that we are drawn into a poem. In poetry, as Anderson (1998) points out, "Meaning somehow passes directly from the writer to the reader or listener, seemingly by pointing to an inchoate experience already shared by both of us" (p. 74), much like the "finger pointing at the moon" already suggested. While the reader may not have had the exact same experience, elements and patterns may be "immediately apprehended and recognized as like one's own" (p. 115). Personal stories "transcend our sense of separateness" (p. 116), allowing us to comprehend and experience something unique yet general that brings us together in the moment of comprehension.

8. *"The final form of an organic study is personal, engaging and informative"* (Clements et al., draft manuscript 4/98, p. 93). I have presented the findings from the research, the reflections, and resonance in a way that I hope expresses the sacredness and honors the interconnectedness of our shared lives. Insights and suggestions from the interviewees and resonators build and support the discussion, which became a true joint effort. I hope the presentation touches the hearts and speaks to the minds of teachers, students, and whole Zen communities. Ultimately, I hope this research would engage practitioners of different traditions by revealing a universality not exclusive to Zen practice. The hope is to "emancipate and transform" (Nielsen, 1990, p. 9) not only through the communication of experience, but also by presenting insights and interpretations that co-researchers have woven for themselves to make meaning out of their experience (p. 7).

Organic methodology is new--only 23 dissertations, finished or in process, to date. I find it allows for a very "Zen-like" process that fits who I am and how I "research" my world. I have spoken to this interplay between methodology and Zen practice in the preceding pages. But just as Zazen practice is an intuitive process, it is also a logical, linear, clear, and discerning practice. These qualities demand clarity in analyzing the data and writing up the findings. They demand more than just the telling and the

impact of the stories. Because the stories are supported and validated by the responses to them, they have become that much more effective. Organic research has not been strong on analysis. It has relied mostly on the reflections of the researcher as the analysis or treatment of data. Perhaps its strength is in the freedom of choice to find appropriate, alternate methods of analyzing the data, methods that "fit" the data, the researcher, the study as a whole. For this reason I chose to borrow transpersonal and heuristic methods, including sympathetic resonance, to produce a creative synthesis of the findings. This has supported a clear, balanced presentation of findings and a compassionate discussion of the results. By creating my own way of using organic methodology, by synthesizing and blending it with other methods, I believe I have created a serious piece of work.

General Design

> "...stories are means of finding oneself in events that might not otherwise make psychological sense at all"
>
> (James Hillman, 1979)

First, I would like to present the overall structure of this study, which is explained in detail in the procedure section. Eight participants were interviewed. From each interview I condensed the participant's "story" of betrayal and its aftermath, and returned it to the interviewee to

review for accuracy. Each interviewee then read all eight stories, "reflected" on them, and wrote me a two-page reflection paper. I, too, reflected on all the stories, including my own, and on the reflections. There is a second group of eight participants called "resonators." They also read all eight stories and gave a two-page reflection on them; this procedure is called sympathetic resonance. (The readers will be able to compare their own reflections with mine, and with those of both the participants and resonators.) All the reflections can be found in the Appendix H. These resonators gathered together for a discussion of their responses to the stories and their reactions, suggestions, and thoughts. This discussion has been distilled and incorporated in Chapter 5.

Participants/Co-Researchers

Criteria for Selection of Interviewees. The terms participants and co-researchers will be used interchangeably throughout this study, and they include both the interviewees and the "resonators"--those who took part in the sympathetic resonance group. For this study I looked for eight interviewees who had felt betrayed by their teachers in the Zen-Buddhist tradition. Their experience of being betrayed had to have taken place at least five years ago. A 5-year span allowed for some reflection and some distancing, so that participants were not as likely to be caught up in the emotional immediacy of the experience. They were thus better able to see the long-term effects of betrayal on their lives.

Because I was concerned that telling the story could bring up painful memories, or new insights, I suggested that interviewees have a therapist "on call," so to speak, in case they needed support for their process.

The interviewees must have been considered senior (i.e., long-term, serious) students in the Zen tradition at the time of the betrayal. This implied an intimate trust relationship with the teacher, which is the context for the betrayals under investigation. The betrayal experience must have precipitated serious disruption in the participants' lives (loss of job, relationship difficulty, moves, departure from the sangha, loss of friends, noticeable emotional upheaval--such as loss of self-esteem, self-confidence and/or trust; increased anxiety, distrust, anger and/or guilt; depression). This guarantees that the study looks at more than the disillusionments, temporary dissatisfactions, less disruptive disagreements and even momentary feelings of betrayal that dissipate when the student realizes his/her own projections. These students work through such situations on their own or with their teachers. The study was limited to those experiences that have been difficult, distressing, and life-disrupting to the student. These are exactly the experiences that illuminate the deep, spiritual wounding that can happen within the teacher/student relationship.

In addition to being 5 years from the experience; being a senior student; and experiencing difficult life-disruption,

the co-researchers were articulate and self-reflective--that is, they were able to discern, with some objectivity, the process of their own story, to see their own (and their teacher's) part in the process of betrayal, and to reflect on their own feelings, thoughts and emotions during and after that time. Of course they also had to have the time, interest and willingness to participate. I selected co-researchers of both genders, with different betrayal experiences (i.e., not all financial, not all sexual, etc.), with different teachers, in different areas of the country (although the interviewees mostly live in the area, the teachers by whom they have felt betrayed are from both America and Japan). I interviewed some participants who had been able to integrate their experience very well and some who were still struggling with it.

There were six women interviewees and two men. A seventh woman dropped out of the study and was replaced by another who responded to the introductory letter months late. One participant was from the New York area, one from Chicago, and one from Portland, Oregon. The rest were from the San Francisco Bay area. More about the interviewees in the Selection section below.

Of the students, three women experienced betrayal with Japanese teachers. Two of these women had a second experience with an American teacher. The two men had male teachers. The three remaining women had the same female teacher. As it turned out, the woman teacher, although she has numerous

groups, travels around the country teaching, and has a retreat center, had never received permission to teach. This, of course, begs the question of legitimacy. In all, three American and three Japanese teachers were involved in these stories. Some of the interviewees had had other Japanese and/or American teachers with whom they previously had had good relationships.

Screening. I had private leads to potential co-researchers through two Zen teachers who had worked for years with students who experienced betrayal with their teachers. This was a double screening: those who came for help had already self-selected, the betrayal had upset their lives enough for them to be looking for help and ways to heal. Some ability to self-reflect is shown in this act alone. The two teachers selected again by choosing men and women from those who had self-selected and met the above criteria.

The choice to select in this fashion obviously eliminates those who are so wounded that they have given up the practice and/or have no desire to contact Zen teachers to help them.

The teachers eliminated candidates with obvious pathologies that would be inappropriate for the study. These would include those with diagnoses of paranoia, neuroses, schizophrenia, and those with life-long patterns of betrayal and victimization which could cause easy projection onto teachers or invite continuing instances of betrayal. Such people were not appropriate for this study, as their ability

to self-reflect and witness their experience might have been impaired. Their perceptions of betrayal would have been difficult to work with and they could well have been wounded yet again by another situation in which they could have been vulnerable, or which brought up difficult memories.

Originally I had hoped these Zen teachers could cull at least twenty people from their files. In the end, they sent my letters of introduction, explaining the research and asking for volunteers, to eighteen "candidates." Thirteen people responded. Another acquaintance in Buddhist circles who has worked on an ethics statement for Buddhist practitioners, was a back-up person who was willing to find potential participants in case there were not enough respondents. The pre-screeners were sensitive, discreet, reliable, and had been involved with student betrayals and questions of ethics in the Buddhist community for many years. I had no reservations about them pre-selecting potential participants. They, too, were interested in bringing this phenomenon more vividly to the consciousness of spiritual seekers, sangha communities, and teachers. They chose a list of candidates who represented the different aspects of betrayal and who were able to present those perspectives articulately and accurately. Being concerned for honesty and openness, they would have undermined and betrayed their own work had they manipulated the screening.

Selection. The introductory letter sent out by the Zen teachers contained an interest form which can be found in Appendix A. Once potential co-researchers showed a willingness to participate by returning the form, I made direct telephone contact with them to answer their questions and explain more about the project. Before I made the calls, I went through my list of criteria. As only two men returned forms, I decided to take them into the study unless there seemed to be a good reason not to. Then I chose one person in the Northwest, and one in the middle of the country, both with foreign teachers. As only one woman teacher was involved in these betrayal experiences, I chose three people who had been her students. I thought it might prove interesting to have different perspectives on one teacher and it did, indeed, have some unforseen, positive results for the three. (As reported in detail in the findings, these students formed a workshop and received supportive feedback for their experiences.) This made a total of seven candidates.

Originally I had had a complicated scheme of talking with all the participants first and telling them that I would get back to them after contacting everyone who had responded to my letter and selecting those who best fit the criteria for the study. In the end, I reviewed my criteria again, spoke with my resource teachers about those who had shown interest to find out which teachers were involved in their stories and then I pre-selected for those criteria. I then called the

seven people who best fleshed out the criteria, including areas of the country I could get to easily. After talking with them, I got an idea about their availability and their interest in participation. If I found no reason not to interview them, I went with an intuitive "hit" that was based largely on (a.) an intuitive feeling about whether the person was a good match for the project or not, and (b.) rapport.

Rapport depended on personal interaction, response to my voice and my response to theirs, tone of voice, animation, interest shown by questions and discussion--personal "click"--in other words, rapport. Good rapport was likely to result in a better interview. If participants felt relaxed and understood, I thought they would give a more detailed, intimate, and honest portrayal of their experience.

Intuitively, I paid attention to the feeling in my body while talking to them--contraction or expansion in the heart area, tightness/constriction or relaxation in the stomach, breathing patterns in the solar plexus as responses to information being given or as reaction to tone, facial expression, or body language of the interviewee--and to any resulting insights. I kept track of these processes in notes after talking to each. The notes were helpful in reminding me of those body responses as I read the transcripts and "felt" for the essence of the story. If my body responded to specific content of a story, as it did with Ariake, I paid special attention to that content to ascertain whether it

should be included in the shortened story. For example, my heart felt constricted when she spoke of never having sex again, and my throat tightened when she spoke of a large weight gain in a short period of time, I felt nauseous when she told about the woman who vomited on the street in front of the Zen center. These responses alerted me to the importance of those disclosures, which are deeply intimate responses to betrayal.

With Chris I found my confusion mounting. What was she telling me? My mind seemed to spin, searching for affect. My body, though, was totally calm, nothing happening. The dissonance alerted me to the fact that something was going on, but I could not catch it. In that moment I was aware that "low key" *seemed* to mean that what had happened was without lasting effects. Later, the memory of that helped me to reconsider after taking her out of the study. That dissonance was brought into the dissertation by her story standing "apart" from the others in its solitary subtlety.

The five women I called all fit the bill. They were animated and enthusiastic, articulate and easy to talk with, asked questions, and seemed interested and friendly. They were from different teachers and spread about the country. Some of their teachers had been men, one teacher was a woman. The men had been Japanese masters and American teachers. Contrary to my first design, I spontaneously asked them to join the study if the intuition and rapport felt right.

The sixth woman I chose for the study I had known previously. She and I had talked briefly about my dissertation 2 years ago, and she had said at the time she would be interested in being interviewed if the project got underway. When I called her she was still interested. She became my first interviewee, Rose. Unfortunately, Rose later decided that she did not want to continue in the study because "of where she was personally at the moment." It had nothing to do with me or with the research, she said. Then, almost as an after-thought, she added that she would have done the research differently. When I asked her if she would like to talk about that, she refused, saying "maybe, at a later date." Perhaps her not continuing was a blend of research-related and personal reasons. Rose withdrew after the participants had received all eight stories and were in the process of responding to them, relatively late in the study. It was therefore impossible to keep her out of the dissertation in a larger sense, because her story was already influencing responses.

Including some of her supportive findings became an ethical issue, so they were stricken from the findings section. Her insights, which were helpful, were also lost to the study--all but one, which I found so invaluable that I have included it here, and later in the study. There is no other reference to her, in accordance with her wishes.

Rose called attention to one important issue for Zen-Buddhist practice centers that was not articulated by other interviewees: the fact that there are people who are perhaps not yet ready to practice, who have developmental or emotional issues that might better be taken care of in therapy before doing concentrated practice, especially living at a center. Rose said, the teacher should have told her that she was not ready. This brings up the question of knowing when someone is "ready" to practice or whether everyone can practice as long as the teacher has a "deep enough" understanding of human nature, or the practice is limited. It is an important question.

The two men responded late. After inquiring of the Zen teachers and finding out that only two letters had gone out to male participants, I took just the six women and waited to see if the men would respond. Finally, after I had about given up hope, they responded. It took several phone calls with each of them to win their support and confidence. They seemed to think that perhaps their experience did not fit the description of betrayal.

Perhaps there are not so many men who experience betrayal, or who are willing to admit it, or ask for help if they do experience it. It is possible that because there are often more women meditation practitioners than men, there are more of them in a position to be betrayed. If gender issues play a big role, and the teachers are mostly men while the

students are mostly female, that could influence the statistics. For whatever reason, the two Zen teachers helping me could not find any other male Zen students to whom they could send my introductory letter (perhaps there were others in their files who did not meet the profile for participants.)

After the two men were signed up, the ninth person called me. She wanted to participate in the study, was obviously very wounded by her experience, and seemed to round out the picture even more. Her teacher was foreign, she herself a Buddhist nun, and she did not think she had healed very much. She was from the East Coast. It was a good thing that I took her into the study because shortly afterwards Rose withdrew.

Immediately after taking the first six women, I had continued to call the remaining six responders. I talked at length with all of them and explained how I had chosen the first women to be in the study, to fulfill the criteria for the study optimally. They really understood and appreciated that, because when I asked them if they would be willing to be on a "waiting list" in case anyone dropped out, they readily agreed.

A consent form was sent to the eight (nine) final participants for them to sign and return (see Appendix A).

A translated letter from my Dharma sister, Eva, is found in Appendix G. It tells her story in a short letter to me shortly after I began this research. I had asked her to

describe her experience, which dovetails with those in the study.

Procedure

I start writing the general design section on Kali's birthday. Kali is the Indian goddess of destruction. That night I have a dream that obviously speaks to the dissertation. In it nine women, including me, in a very dispassionate, discerning, egoless maneuver, kill off ten men who are visiting our getaway weekend house on a cliff overlooking the ocean. There are ten bodies lying dead on the floor with no trace of foul-play anywhere--not on the bodies, not in the surrounds. The instrument of death is a wooden stick, about the size of my Zen teaching stick. I am slightly uneasy about the reaction of the police and the community when this comes to light. I awaken while we nine women are still discussing whether to try and dispose of the bodies or tell the police. A Jungian therapist suggests while discussing the dream with me, that there will be dead bodies when I am finished. The dream points to some anxiety about how the community will receive this study. How will I take care of myself in the eventuality that I am attacked for my study, she asks? Now, more than ever, I want this to be an illuminating, compassionate study. It is not about pointing fingers or blaming. It is about better understanding the dynamics of betrayal and the quality of the teacher/student relationship; about seeing responsibility more clearly. I realize what an

act of love this is, and how sacred this practice is to me, how sacred everyone doing the practice is, how interconnected we all are. There is no blame--neither in the Absolute, nor in this very Real study.

Rhea White describes the potential of exceptional human experience (EHE) and exceptional experience (EE) to shed light on research. Her list of EEs that are most likely to occur in the research context include dreams (White, 1998, pp. 128-145).

Any procedure begins with a setting of intention, whether conscious or not; this procedure began with the recognition of the sacredness of the work, the study, the research, the participants, the readers, myself--and with the intention of remembering and nurturing that feeling of sacredness. This was done daily in my morning meditation and extended to awareness triggered when I opened the computer to begin working. My workspace, computer, printer, files, desk and chair were "smudged" and periodically, when I felt "stuck" I did this ritual again. My chair was a comfortable rocker with a soft cushion, and it was draped with an afghan knit by my friend's brother. A pillow embroidered by my daughter when she was eight years old supported my back. My life held this dissertation gently.

The procedure also began with the recognition that every day's experience influenced and altered whatever was planned

next. I stayed mindful and attentive to my own process as well as to that of the participants and to the process of the research itself. I did this by practicing mindfulness in my daily life, this *is* the practice of Zazen. It was helpful to find repeated behaviors which called my mind to practice, such as picking up an article, turning on the computer, hitting the "save" key, using the "block" key, and so forth. Again and again the behavior was a reminder to be aware in the moment, mindful.

Slightly broader in definition, attentiveness to the day's experience included watching my dreams carefully, looking for synchronicities in my daily life, along with attending to body/mind balance and spiritual practices. By nurturing "beginner's mind," that openness to the unfolding moment, I nurtured a growing space, changing space, for this research to unfold in its own way, despite well-laid concepts and my normal impatience. I practiced discernment, again through the quieting of the mind and attention practiced in Zazen, about that unfolding and changing. Sharon Salzberg (1997) describes simply and succinctly how the practice of concentration influences thought:

> Concentration is steadiness of mind, the feeling we have when we are one-pointed and powerful in our attention. When we can concentrate, a door opens to insight and wisdom. Concentration is thus the foundation for the development of correct knowledge and vision. This means being able to see things as they actually are, without so quickly distorting the experience through the filter of our hopes and fears. It is the release from these filters that leads us personally, intimately, to trust in our own sense of

> truth. Correct knowledge and vision, once firmly a part of our lives, is the foundation for the development of dispassion. (p. 25)

For the duration of this study I practiced not only daily meditation, but also the Brahma Viharas, the loving kindness meditation practices. I added these to my regular meditation practice, for about 15 minutes, and sometimes I used the duration of my morning sitting practice for loving-kindness. Although I did not use my teacher in this practice, I used various difficult male relationships. I spent the most time practicing on/with myself. In times of impatience I practiced on the driver in front of my car or on those in line at the cash register, or the sales person. In times of ease, I practiced on the friend in front of me. This practice supported the intention of "no blaming" and compassion that I held and hold for this study by encouraging empathy, compassion, understanding and equanimity for all concerned, including myself, the co-researchers, teachers, and sanghas--both participating, mentioned, and in the wider Zen community.

I also continued with my Ikebana lessons and movement classes. These pursuits helped keep my energies balanced and nurture an intuitive, open space from which balanced perception was more likely.

Screening and Selection. The first procedural hurdle: the screening and selection of participants/co-researchers was described in detail in the preceding section on participants.

The introductory letter, show-of-interest and consent forms can be found in Appendix A.

Setting a Date. When the participants were chosen and the consent forms returned, interviews were set up by phone. The interviews were arranged at the convenience of both researcher and co-researcher. One interview was done on the phone because the interviewee came so late to the study that there was no time to fly to the East Coast for a face-to-face interview. One interview was done in my home, one in the dining hall of a large Zen center, one in the office of the interviewee's home, and one in the informal lounging/kitchen area behind the meditation room which was the downstairs of a private home/Zen center. All the rest were done in the interviewees' homes. Except for the phone call, which at least allowed each of us to be in the privacy of our own homes, and the dining hall experience, the interviews took place in an intimate setting, usually with tea and something to nibble on. Originally I wanted all interviews done within a 3-month period. It took 4 months because the death of a close friend changed my time schedule.

The Interviews. The core of this method is the in-depth interview. Betrayal is a delicate area to research. Our fullness and aliveness as human beings encompasses the flip side of transportive, unity experiences. It is here that often the most transformative and rich experience takes place. Betrayal belongs to the flip side and to begin asking about a

person's experience of betrayal is to finger a wound. Co-researchers must be treated with utmost respect and compassion.

This required a gentle, non-invasive interviewing process in which co-researchers had the opportunity to share the intimacies of their experience. The fact that I share the experience of betrayal was helpful in setting an atmosphere of trust to speak the unspeakable, to look at old wounds. One of the first things interviewees asked about was my own experience. Personal meditation and Brahma Vihara practice preceded each interview session, setting the intention of holding a space of acceptance, compassion, and equanimity for the unfolding of difficult material. Most interviews started with a few minutes of silence, which served to ritualize and prepare a sacred space for the work to unfold. The suggestion for this was included in the letter describing the interview session. That left the interviewee the freedom to take up the invitation or not (Clements et al., draft manuscript, p. 109). If the interviewee took the suggestion, and most did, we were silent for a few moments, otherwise we simply began slowly.

In that place of quiet I contemplated my assumptions and preconceptions, and set the intention that these be used to support the participant and interview without manipulation, so that what needed to be the participant's story would come forth. I also held the intention that the interview take place in an atmosphere of non-harming and compassion, as

"...the data generated is dependent upon accurate, empathic listening; being open to oneself and to the co-researcher; ...flexible and free to vary procedures;... skillful in creating a climate that encourages the co-researcher to respond comfortably, accurately, comprehensively, and honestly..." (Moustakas, 1990, p. 48).

At the interview, I asked each participant if they had a code name that we could use throughout the study when referring to them and their story. Only two interviewees picked a name for themselves, and I also forgot to ask two of them. In the end I chose gender neutral names, thinking to keep the stories totally free of gender to protect co-researchers' and their teachers. Originally I thought to ask the interviewees to refer to their teachers with the words "my teacher" or "the teacher" instead of by name during the interview itself. This would keep anonymity even with the transcriber; however, this proved too cumbersome and I dropped the idea immediately. I had to rely on the discretion of the transcriber, who had no idea of the Zen "scene" at all.

Participants were informed in advance about the focus of the semi-structured interview. They were asked to be ready at the time of the interview to tell briefly the story of their betrayal, that is, what happened, the events and the context surrounding those events. Just as important was the description of their feelings, emotions and reactions to those events. I asked them to tell the story of their betrayal

briefly--i.e., the context, events; to describe their immediate feelings, emotions and reactions to the betrayal; to relate the aftermath of those events--i.e., whether and how the experience influenced their self-concept, whether and how the experience influenced their lives and their spiritual practice; to contemplate the meaning of their experience--i.e., did they feel they found sense or meaning in the experience; and to consider whether the experience had been integrated, had transformed them in any way and if so, in what ways--what was the process of integration and transformation? I also asked whether the participant felt that spiritual betrayals differ in any way from other betrayals, and if so, what makes them different?

Participants were asked if they used creative expression while working through their betrayal experience, but aside from journals and whole books there was nothing volunteered. The exception was the unfinished mandala one woman was still working on. A letter to the participants explaining the focus and procedure of the interview can be found in Appendix B.

Most interviewees began telling their stories quite quickly: I read your letter, here we go! Some were a little "timid" or tentative at first. I reminded them of the focus areas and that seemed to put them at ease. I was surprised at how quickly people got "into" telling their stories. I had envisioned the first 10 to 15 minutes of the interview as a time to get acquainted and "settled in"; a time of dialogue

and making the participant comfortable and "safe," but it took much less time than that. The interviews were semi-structured and only if the participant needed encouragement, or wandered way off track, or spent a long time on one aspect or focus of the story did I intervene and gently remind them of the other questions, or even the time constraints. This excludes, of course, supportive remarks and clarifying questions.

The time set for an interview was approximately 1 1/2 hours, but the participant and the story also had to be "finished." Most interviews took almost 2 hours. One was a marathon session where technical problems caused delays and retellings. The sessions were taped.

Notes on the Interview Process. Immediately after the interview I took notes on the participant's mood and affect, non-verbal information, my own perceptions, insights, intuitions or bodily feelings, and whatever stood out to me that I felt would be helpful for me in catching the essence of the story.

Transcription. The tapes were given to a professional transcriber to whom the identity of the story-teller was not revealed and who was asked to keep the material confidential. I found someone not connected to the Zen community who came recommended to me by friends and whom I knew to be trustworthy and competent.

Distillation of the Interviews. I distilled the interviews into short stories capturing the essence of the

person's experience. I began working with each interviewee's story by listening to the tape and reading the transcript to make sure it was accurate. Then I listened to the tape and read the transcript alternately two more times, immersing myself in the story. I read and reread my personal notes on the interview. Using meditation and compassion practice to remain in an open receptive space and a place of "timeless immersion"/"empathic presence" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 48) or "slowing down and patiently dwelling" (Wertz, 1983, p. 36), I felt my way into the participant's experience, finding the essence of it.

Compassion and resonance with people's experience allowed me to recognize those themes, phrases, images, or descriptions that seemed to hold the essence and power of that particular story. This is similar to Anderson's (1998) conviction that "...compassion allows us to see the value and meaningfulness of the data as it shapes itself before us" (p. 112). This came to me through reflection, through a flash of insight, through an expansive heart feeling or moment of deep empathy, or even through the repetition, vividness, or lingering impression of a word, phrase, or theme. It came sometimes through a felt sense in the body and a resulting insight. I kept detailed notes of my process and have included some of the processes in the results section.

Ikebana. As part of this inner process, I made an Ikebana arrangement that "catches" the essence of each

interviewee and/or his/her story; reflection as arrangement, or vice versa. This spiritual practice has opened me to many a flash of insight in the past. For instance, the three main "lines" in an Ikebana arrangement--either three branches, three prominent flowers or two branches and one flower--represent heaven, earth, and humans. If one of these lines is not appropriately strong or is not in right relationship to the others, I know that I am not grounded or that I am disconnected from my own spirituality at the moment, or that I am off balance in how I am relating to my environment, and so forth. An arrangement is quite revealing.

I paid attention to the flowers I chose for each story/arrangement, to the container, to the colors and textures; noted my bodily process; noted sudden insights while picking and choosing. I also noted my thoughts and body process while arranging the material, and paid attention to how I felt when looking at the completed arrangement. I noted what happened to my body and what images came to me at that moment. Meditation and Ikebana awakened sensitivity and opened my heart to the essence of the narratives, and allowed an "immediate apprehension" (Anderson, 1998, p. 73).

Writing the Stories. From this intuitive understanding I wrote each participant's story, taking care to remain true to the quality of the experiences, capturing the essence, yet being careful not to reveal anything that would divulge the participant's identity. Originally I kept all the stories

gender neutral. This had the interesting affect of focusing the interest on the story and not on what might have been going on subconsciously between teacher and student because of gender. It also made co-researchers aware of their own projections because it was harder to project not knowing genders. They began to ask themselves whether they would feel differently if they knew the gender of student and teacher. Also the anonymity tickled their sense of curiosity. Who were these teachers anyway?? It was only after the resonance group felt it would be important for readers to know the genders in order to be aware of possible undercurrents of gender issues, that I "re-gendered" the stories.

In retelling the stories, I used only the co-researchers' own wording for authenticity. I used both attention and discernment in order to not only find the essence, but to select the most relevant and revealing spoken words. My striving was for a story that would connect with the reader on a deep level; a story that would reveal a universality in what appears to be uniqueness. The stories are the first phase of the research and are presented in the main body of the dissertation as Chapter 5. They are the direct, and hopefully powerful, connection between the reader and the experience of betrayal.

Interviewees' Review of Stories. Upon completion, each story was sent back to the interviewee to review for accuracy of events, process, and essence/interpretation. Returning the

story for corroboration is both an heuristic and organic approach (and also phenomenological). Ruthellen Josselson (1996), reflecting on writing other people's lives, remarks that what we get in listening to stories is "people's narcissistic experience of themselves" (p. 64) and that if the researcher leaves out of the written presentation "something of great importance to the participant," it can be "narcissistically wounding" (Josselson, 1996, p. 65). By using the words of the participants and careful insight I tried to minimize this possibility and make easier the difficulty some interviewees might have had to ask that things be removed, changed, or added. There was enough openness to discuss changes and adjust the stories to everyone's satisfaction. Some interviewees claimed their right to change things should the dissertation become a book. One interviewee found the inner trust to defend her story's "fit" in this dissertation (see Chris' story.) One interviewee (Ariake) and I had a number of go-rounds before we were both satisfied with her story. I hope we all came out the stronger for it!

Interviewees' Reflections, and Responses. When all stories were approved, each interviewee received copies of all eight stories to read and think about. Then, the interviewees were asked to give two pages of reflection on their thoughts and feelings upon experiencing their own and others' stories, the effect it had on them personally (see Appendix C for instructions). I wanted to know whether the interviewees

emotionally connected with each others' experience, whether they empathized, were saddened, angered, etc. Did they have an emotional reaction to the stories, and if so, what was it? I wanted to know if interviewees would come up with ideas for prevention and healing and if they would have any insights into the process of healing. I wanted to know whether the sharing of stories effected the interviewees' own process of healing, and their perception of themselves in the experience of betrayal. Did the stories reveal new insights or shift their understanding of what happened in the experience? Did sharing the stories help to make more, or different, sense of the experience, or help the co-researcher to integrate it more fully? In short, I wanted to know what came up for each participant--psychologically, spiritually, intellectually, emotionally--whatever it happened to be. These reflections appear, unadulterated, in Appendix H, but their results are included in the analysis. Thus the reader can compare his/her own reflections with those of the co-researchers, and also with my reflections, as will become immediately apparent.

Researcher's Reflection. When all this material was in, I reflected on all eight stories, all eight reflections, and my own story. The reflection process, is described in detail in the Treatment of Data section.

Josselson (1983) writes about "managing the intrusiveness of the researcher's meaning-making efforts" (p. 66), that even if the result is helpful to the participant, or an

"exhilarating" experience, it could "rob" the participant of a "piece of his or her freedom" (p. 67). In addition, the researcher must be aware of what Josselson calls "'oracle' fantasies" induced in participants, and of the "projected, imagined powers our apparent authority, which rests on our access to print, invokes" (p. 67). In other words, it is imperative for researchers to be aware of the influence their conclusions or interpretations could have on participants, who may be inclined to accept the researcher's opinion--whatever it is--as truth or omen (as oracle fantasy). This could effect their lives dramatically, if they reacted emotionally or changed behavior or beliefs because of what the researcher wrote. I did not want nor do I want any participant to feel that my opinions become "shoulds" for their lives or in any way set a framework for their continuing experience. For this reason I refused to interpret stories or behaviors, or look for "diagnoses" to "explain" participants' behaviors. It encouraged me to get continuous feedback from my committee, my therapist, and meditation teachers and friends. It is also the reason that I was so elated when the research evolved into a shared knowing, a combined discussion, and an integrative conclusion. I feel that this work is very much collaborative.

This is important to me because I am concerned about the empowerment of the interviewees, especially as the lack of it may have played a part in the betrayal experience and/or its aftermath. Interviewees were encouraged to speak their own

stories with their own voices. They read each others' stories of betrayal and had the opportunity to comment, interpret, and discuss understandings and meanings in their reflections. I hope this has brought them some measure of empowerment and of feeling respected and valued, as their opinions stand with my own and with the resonance group's in the Discussion Chapter.

Resonance Group. The third phase of the research after collecting the interviews and reporting the reflections is the use of sympathetic resonance (Anderson, 1998, pp. 73-75.) For this method I chose a group of Zen practitioners or "resonators" who had not been involved in the research up until this point. I originally chose eight resonators from among the Zen teachers and practitioners I know from this area. These were the criteria for "resonators": (a) Participants had to be articulate and self-reflective, as previously defined. (b) A personal betrayal experience was not mandatory, but I wanted to have some resonators who had had the experience and some who had not. (c) They had to have time to participate, be sincerely interested in the topic, and be willing to speak their mind. (d) I picked both men and women resonators. (e) Originally I preferred student resonators to be long-term practitioners with an established teacher/student relationship. I felt this would give them a deeper understanding of the dynamics of those relationships, of themselves in their spiritual practice, and of sangha expectations and relations.

Whom I selected was to be based on the above criteria, but also on my own knowledge of who the people were and my intuitive "hit," much like selecting the participants. I kept a growing list of possible resonators, people whose integrity, intelligence, empathy, and openness I had grown to appreciate. When a name came to me, I used my logical powers first, thinking of the qualifications. If the person fit those, I kept the name in the "background" of awareness for several days. Then I sat with an open mind and allowed the name to be there without thinking about the person. Then I waited for either an insight or the felt body sense--for example an expansive heart feeling--that the person was a "fit." The name went on the list. If there were more than eight people on that list when the time came, I would pick eight out of the hat. I would then speak to those eight people personally and ask for their participation. If they were interested, they would receive a consent form to sign. If I needed to ask further possible participants to bring the total up to eight, I would do so. The consent form for the resonators is found in Appendix D.

Those were my elaborate plans and they all came to naught. Once I had eight people on my list I began to call them because time was getting short. It was also the Christmas and New Year's season. People were in sesshin, or coming from sesshin, or going to session. It was impossible. Not everyone had time to meet. Some agreed to come and then

had to back out. I did not know enough people personally to take up the slack, so I asked people on my list for recommendations. In the end I managed to "recruit" four teachers, two men and two women from three different Zen traditions. One of them had had a betrayal experience, and one was dealing with betrayal issues in his larger sangha. Three students, two women and one man agreed to come. One did not show up and I haven't heard from her since. The two remaining students I knew to be outspoken. One was a long time meditator who had not taken the precepts. The other was a young woman who was relatively new to practice but had taken the precepts.

So there were six people who came and I was the seventh. I knew three of them, two I had never met, and one I had interviewed at the beginning of this project when I was testing the climate, so to speak.

The resonators met for 2 hours. Because we waited for the woman who never showed up, we began 20 minutes late. Unfortunately, most resonators had appointments and a work schedule, so they had to leave at the time originally planned. The discussion lasted for about an hour and 40 minutes.

These resonators could be indicators about how readers will respond to the stories when reading the dissertation. According to Braud (1998)

> ...a strong and full reaction in the reader of a research report can serve as a faithful (valid) indicator that the researcher, through the aid of the research participants, has accurately

> portrayed a particular signal experience well enough for the resonating reader to distinguish it and affirm it as a faithfully recounted experience. (p. 225)

Resonance Group's Response to the Stories. The anonymous stories were given to the co-researchers in the resonance group. Originally I had planned to ask permission of the story tellers for this step. I have to say that somehow I totally forgot to do this. No excuse. I just simply forgot.

After reading the eight stories, this second group--the resonators--was asked to write a two page reflection (see Appendix E) which has been included, unadulterated, in Appendix H. Results from the reflections are included in the findings. These reflections revealed a strong sympathetic resonance, which indicates that my co-researchers and I have hit the mark in describing the betrayal experience. Here, the reader has another chance to compare his/her reflections with those of yet another set of co-researchers/resonators.

Resonance Group's Discussion. The resonators were asked to meet and have a discussion (approximately 2 hours) about their reactions to the stories. This discussion took place in the home of one of the resonators, a comfortable environment big enough to hold everyone, convenient to get to, and with an inviting atmosphere. He was most gracious to invite us to meet there. Arrangements were made by phone and a confirmation letter with instructions for the discussion was sent to each resonator (Appendix F).

Because we waited for almost twenty minutes for the person who never arrived, we had time to get to know each other and make tea before sitting down to talk about this "loaded" topic. Before the discussion I had again set my intention of "no-blaming," that the discussion be held in right speech, and be fruitful in outcome. Besides their feelings and thoughts (resonance) in response to the stories, resonators were asked to discuss whatever other related aspects might appear important to them. Specifically I asked them to address recommendations and thoughts they might have about reducing the possibility of betrayal occurrences and helping the healing process when wounding has already occurred. The discussion was taped and transcribed.

Distillation of the Group's Discussion. From the transcript of the tape and the two-page responses I made a distillation for the results section. I have used major themes from the resonance group meeting to build the discussion section. The responses can be read in their entirety in Appendix H. There were no different themes touched on in the meeting that were not brought forth in the written responses. I listened to the tapes several times and read the transcript (once for accuracy) and responses several times. While listening and reading I paid attention, again, to changes and feelings in my body, and to sudden insights. I looked for the essence of the discussion, recurring themes and phrases, group emphases and compared them with the responses for the results

section. Between listening and reading I sat in meditation, allowing for opening to insight and understanding. I took careful notes of these processes. From the understanding that arose I distilled the essence of this discussion. This is included in the analysis.

Researcher's Reflection on Resonance Group Results. After I had distilled the essence of the discussion and written it up, I also wrote my own reflections on their process.

This whole procedure offers the final reader several levels of reflection and resonance. First, there are the stories themselves. Then there are the eight individual reflections of the participants. Third, there is my reflection on the stories and reflections, and on my own story. This process is actually part of the analysis of data. Fourth, there are the eight individual reflections of the resonators. Fifth, there are the communal reflections and or recommendations of the resonators. From the resonators' level of interest and energy as well as their sense of sympathetic resonance around the topic, it appears that the research has hit its mark with an appropriate validity (Anderson, 1998, p. 73). In addition, when the reader experiences an emotional resonance there is immediate validity for that reader/empathizer--much like what was once called face validity and which has been spurned for so many years. In my opinion, there *is* verification by the simple act of

recognition. In a lay sense, if something is recognized when seen, it becomes valid for the beholder.

Treatment of Data

The stories revealed concepts and themes around how experiences of betrayal are played out and what happens after the experience. Across the stories, for example, there were descriptive similarities in feelings and emotional states after betrayal, in observable behaviors and reactions, and in life changes and transformative process. There were similar patterns in the situations in which betrayals were experienced, and there were similarities in psychological and emotional reactions at the time of the experience.

Some stories resembled each other in the emotional resonance they called up in me--or in the insights I had about them, or my physical reactions to them. A great sense of sadness arose within me hearing the stories of Robby, Chris and Pat. A sense of outrage and grief accompanied those of Morgan, Lee, and Ariake. Listening in the interviews or to the tapes I sometimes felt tightness around my heart, or an urge to be sick to my stomach. I read through the transcripts and used these emotional and visceral cues to inform the choices I made when underlining, as described below, the descriptive phrases that became the text of the shortened stories. For example, if I had felt great sadness when listening to the interview, I chose the phrases or words which struck that resonance in me, or those phrases when the

interviewee had sounded especially sad. Some of what got underlined was chosen with clear discernment, arising from that quiet meditative place, as described below--that which was simply necessary for the telling of the complete story, information that contributed to the research and to the readers' comprehension.

The stories often had different content but very similar plot lines. There were similarities in teachers' behaviors, although there were very different situational factors. Many of these similarities and differences were obvious to me while I was still listening to interviewees. Others turned out to be more subtle.

I reflected on the stories and the co-researchers' individual reflections using meditation as the foundation of my reflection. "Awareness of the breath serves as a clear mirror, not for or against anything, but simply reflecting the moment, without the obstruction of concepts and judgments" (Salzberg, 1997, p. 28). Quiet and meditation allow for an intuitive knowing or "immediate apprehension" (Anderson, 1998, pp. 91-92) to present itself.

I used the same technique whether comparing the stories, or the interviewees'/resonators' responses. First I reread each complete interview and listened to the tape, asking that what was important "speak" to me, come into my awareness strongly, perhaps as an insight or a "felt sense." That felt sense is most often a noticeable change, shift, or feeling in

the heart, stomach or solar plexus area. Then I read each interview through three times, once with a focus on the situational story of the betrayal, once with a focus on the aftermath of the experience, and once with a focus on healing/transformation. Each time I used a different color: orange for situation, purple for emotional aftermath, and green for healing process. I underlined every descriptive word, phrase, concept, or theme that fell into those three categories. A few times words or phrases would fall into two or all three categories, so I underlined them two or three times.

Then I made three huge charts, one for each focus area. Across the top of the chart I wrote the names of the nine interviewees in the color of that focus: orange, purple or green. I folded the chart so that a column appeared under each name. Under each name I carefully wrote each word and phrase, concept or theme that person used when describing the focus for that chart. As I began to fill in the chart I noticed that the words and phrases seemed to fall into five or six groupings, so I started to draw lines from one person's column to the another's, connecting similar statements or words. Sometimes the words or phrases were different, but had similar meanings, so I drew a connecting line.

Continuing this mapping process, when each interviewee's "word picture" felt complete, I took different colored pens and placed a colored mark next to all the descriptors on the

chart that seemed to be speaking to a certain theme. In this way I compared the stories for overlap and uniqueness, identifying six different groupings in each focus area. It thus became evident how many people experienced certain reactions, what circumstances reigned in the community at the time of the experience, what teacher behaviors were common to all the experiences, and so forth. Unique phrases, words or concepts that did not fall into the framework also became obvious.

After I did this process for the stories and the interviewees' responses, I then went through my own story and reflection response. I did not put my information on the chart and so it is not included in that comparative part of the analysis. My data appears, written up, at the end of the data from the interviewees.

Likewise I compared the responses of the resonators, using the same chart technique. My reflections on the resonators' responses and to their discussion are to be found at the end of the resonators' data in the analysis/results section. My reflections are a pulling together of the data in a creative synthesis and may be seen, along with the co-researchers' reflections, as belonging to the analysis.

For each interviewee I made one Ikebana, or Japanese flower arrangement. I had a detailed procedure for making the arrangements, but realized that I was carrying each interviewee and his/her story with me in such intensity that

as I looked at the photos of the arrangements I made every week in my private Ikebana lesson, they exactly expressed the essence of the interviewee, without my "doing" anything. Each arrangement materialized from the unconscious.

I immersed myself in the data, meditated, reflected, did the mapping, and then made sure that at the end of each work day I had planned some form of relaxation or enjoyment. Sometimes I planned a meal or teatime or a walk with friends. Sometimes I would jump up in the middle of the day and go to the movies. Every other week I went to therapy. Every week I went for a massage or body-work session. The time for relaxation away from the data interspersed with the work kept me in balance. This heuristic pattern (Moustakas, 1990, p. 49-50) allows time away from the data only to have fresh insight upon return.

I left open the possibility that other methods of analysis might appear more appropriate as I got into the research, but found that what I had chosen worked well.

Braud maintains that "Resonance is an indicator of fullness and fidelity and is, therefore, an indicator of validity" (1998, p. 224). The resonators in this study have been moved by the stories and reflections, acknowledging its generalizability and validity. The way I set up the research with ample room for reflection from both participants and resonators allows for Braud's transpersonal methods of using bodily sensations, emotional feedback, aesthetic feelings, and

intuition (1998, pp. 213-237) to be used extensively. Indeed, I suspect that these qualities have influenced the content of the participants' reflections even if they were unaware of it, especially because many have used their body as a reference point when expressing their feelings and reactions.

I hope that the stories so touch readers that they will be moved to new perceptions on teacher/student relationships in the spiritual realm, to take responsibility for themselves, their actions, behaviors, and intentions in teacher/student relationships and to expand their individual awareness of spiritual practice, relationship, and psychological processes. In other words, I hope that readers will not only resonate, but participate and analyze for themselves, even as they read. This is an integral part of organic research, the involvement of the reader in the research process.

The discussion by the resonators has fulfilled my hope that it would not only reveal their empathy and resonance with the interviewees, but also synthesize information and offer suggestions involving the teacher/student relationship, sangha relations, and healing procedures. These are included in the discussion section.

That the personal truths of the interviewees indeed spoke directly to the hearts of the resonators (and of each other), may be an indication that they will speak to the hearts of the readers. That, in turn, might indicate the ability to speak to the heart of the sangha. The social implications of this

universal in the personal, of this possible generalizability, is most important for the sangha. By influencing individual students and their perceptions of teachers, of the teacher/student relationship and of themselves as students, the stories could influence the openness of sanghas, the way they choose to organize themselves, and how they would go about healing the wounds of betrayals. The repercussions of more compassionate viewpoints are inevitably felt in wider and wider circles in the great interconnectedness of all things.

Assumptions

I spoke earlier to the fact that my own experience could be both help and hindrance in this research project. By being as fully aware of my assumptions and preconceptions as possible, and by quieting them, I "bracketed" them in a phenomenological sense. But whereas phenomenologists try to keep those assumptions and preconceptions out of the research process, I tried to use my experience to facilitate the process without influencing, manipulating or inauthenticating co-researchers' stories and responses. Braud calls these assumptions and preconceptions "impedance" (1998, pp. 227-228) and suggests several ways of working with them that were already built into my procedure.

Impedances are like the impurities or resistances that obstruct the flow of electricity and they require "techniques that yield quietude and openness at many levels of functioning" to quiet and reduce "rigid structures,

interferences, and *noise* sources" (p. 227). My movement classes, Ikebana study, and above all, the practice of Zazen and the Brahma Viharas are all ways that have quieted and cleared my mind and body, and increased openness. This helped me reduce the chance of filtering out (or in) data that could have skewed the research and adversely effected the validity and possible generalizability of the study.

The setting of intention was also important in this respect. I feel all of the co-researchers have been able to transcend, in part and for moments, the assumptions and preconceptions that we carried and could see each other and these experiences more clearly. May this be the case with the readers also.

On the other hand, I used my assumptions and preconceptions by mentioning them gently to co-researchers at appropriate times, giving them the assurance that if they, too, should feel these things, it would be acceptable to voice that and share their perceptions. It was also perfectly acceptable to have had different experience or to have a very different perception and to voice that. By owning my own experience and pre-conceptions, and asking for further thoughts, or by mirroring other's experience with my own, I hope that I encouraged greater openness and sharing.

While preparing the soil (weeding out habitual thoughts and expectations around this topic, being continually aware of the sacredness of this research project), planting the seed

(personal review of my own story and my attitude, interpretations, concepts about it), as the roots expanded (cthonically, subconsciously, intuitively the work was being informed, strengthening my trust in this process), and the tree grew (relating to my committee, support group, and meditation teachers--to use Clements et al.'s tree image of organic research), I have become aware of my own assumptions about this topic. Becoming aware leads to changing perceptions, which promotes transformation. Transformation, the fruit of organic research, has happened for me simply in the writing of this dissertation, as my views of myself within the betrayal experience became more clear and my perception of betrayal brought it more into Buddhist focus.

I would like to name the assumptions which I have recognized; bracket them, but not keep them out of the research; put them up front so that not only I, but also the reader is aware through which assumptions the collected data has been filtered. Here, from the underworld of my own experience, out of the pain and process of working through my own experience, I offer them.

The first is that betrayals stem from the unconscious of both betrayer and betrayed, originating in unresolved issues; ultimately, both betrayer and betrayed are likely to have betrayed themselves. I feel that at one point in my experience I abandoned myself--what I believed, thought, and knew was true about myself--and allowed someone else's opinion

to dictate what was true about me. This was a betrayal of my self. Likewise, when someone behaves in such a manner that another feels betrayed, even in the "ignorance" or "unawareness" of the moment, one betrays one's own moral/ethical beliefs, one's own integrity, the truth of who one is and ultimately Who one *is.*

Another assumption is that betrayal can be psychologically and emotionally devastating and crazy-making for the those experiencing it; a third is that the experience of betrayal can disrupt the lives and personal relationships of the betrayed. Still another (fourth) assumption is that the experience of being betrayed has an impact on that person's practice of Zazen, on his/her spiritual path and relationship to the spiritual community. Also (fifth), I suspect that spiritual betrayals are qualitatively different from other forms of betrayal such as betrayals by family members, friends, co-workers, and others, and cut deep into the psyche of the betrayed. Sixth, although betrayals contain the seeds of transformation and forgiveness, some people may never fully recover.

Being aware of my own beliefs and assumptions allowed me to form questions for the interview that may or may not have revealed agreement with my suppositions. Being aware allowed me to ask in the run of the interview, those things which were important for my own understanding and which illumine the findings without manipulating participants' answers. When

working with the findings I remained as aware as I possibly could of my assumptions so as not to project meanings and motives onto the data. I also brought my clinician committee members into this process for advice and consultation.

Delimitations

Organic research is a methodology that does not conform to the highly valued and normally accepted standards of presentation, measurement, reliability, and validity found in more conventional, established methodologies. It does not have a method of external validation, but in this study the validation through reflections and responses can be viewed as external indications of something internal. Organic research has a different presentation of data, different format, alternative ways of checking for validity. Because this methodology is so flexible, open and organic, each researcher is creatively challenged to find methods that fit both the topic and the researcher, while being convincing, rigorous, valid, and appropriate. Organic research limits the safety of a cut and dried method of analysis. It calls for the creative construction of a well-thought-out analysis, without which the researcher's ability to hide behind the data is enhanced.

Organic research seems to increase the limits of what is permissible--"opening a can of worms"--to include all kinds of questions and insights, rather than to exclude possibilities in order to find answers. Being too inclusive can also muddle data, making it easier to hide behind it. (Methodologies are,

perhaps, only as good as the integrity of the researcher.) Looking, then, at Organic methodology, there appears to be a dearth of means for analysis, but actually everything is open. Although it is hard to know how to proceed, the possibility of change, even in the middle of things, is wide open.

The choice to interview those who have already made an attempt to get help and who have contacted Zen teachers, eliminates participants who may be too wounded to get help, those who have left the Zen world (or even the world of spiritual seekers) completely, those who have gone to other traditions, found other Zen teachers, or therapists, and those who feel they are strong enough to heal on their own, even those who may not know what they have experienced. The choice to interview only those who had had traumatic experiences of betrayal which greatly disrupted their lives, excludes those who may have had very different experiences.

Further delimitations include the following possibilities. To choose only Zen teacher/student betrayals and eliminate cases in other traditions narrows the population and the generalizability of the findings. A small group of only eight co-researchers weakens the generalizability. Eliminating the perspective of the betrayer looks at only one side of the equation. Emphasizing the effects of context, as well as the supporting elements contributing to betrayal experiences shifts the focus from inquiry into and discussion of clinical perspectives.

Limitations

The fact that I have experienced betrayal and that all data have been filtered through that experience is something that cannot be changed. In fact, it may have been helpful, making participants more at home, willing to participate, discuss and reveal. Many people wondered immediately why someone would chose such a dissertation topic and wanted to know whether I had had such an experience myself. It was one of the first questions possible participants asked. When the question was not asked, I mentioned it briefly. I revealed only the fact of my experience, that there were long-reaching effects of that experience, and that I was interested to discover how others went through this experience. I did not want this to be about my experience. Participants needed to feel that it was *their* experience that was important. Co-researchers read my experience in full when reading and responding to each others' stories, including mine. Questions about my process and experience often came up in the interviews.

My own story colored my perceptions of things, supported my empathy for people, awakened my compassion. The study corroborated my own experiences and the responses echoed what I was already feeling and thinking. The data was in the stories in such a way that opposing or very different perceptions were not expressed. The introductory letter and the letter explaining the interview were pointedly neutral. I

said so little in the way of directives or instructions during the interviews, that I do not think I expressed misleading projections or manipulated responses. I relied on my committee for pointing these out to me.

Qualitative research brings its own limitations. Internal and external validity are arrived at in a less traditional fashion (co-researchers' reflections, resonators' reflections.) Having no quantitative findings may, for some people, be cause for concern. On the other hand, many readers will readily grasp the betrayal experience on an intuitive/ non-rational level, which will "prove," for them, its validity, as well as its generalizability--that the individual is the universal.

I find that I am also faced with my own limitations: how competent, compassionate, convincing am I? How well do I know my own intuitive process? Can I explain it to others? How hard and long can I work? How well do I unwind? How deep are my insights? How honest and effective is my practice? How well do I understand this whole dissertation process? How devoted am I? How open am I really?

CHAPTER 5

CO-RESEARCHERS' STORIES

Don't be contemptuous of old obediences. They help.
(Mathnawi, IV, 435-466)

A Thursday evening. Having never been to a Sufi "durga," I agree to attend this special dinner and meeting for a special teacher who is flying in from out of town. It will be interesting to see a different practice, although I have been to Muslim prayers in mosques before. While women prepare the dinner, others sit in the living room talking informally with the teacher, passing him sweets and offering him tea. One woman sits at his feet and lights the cigarettes he smokes almost continuously.

After dinner there is more of the same--informal teaching, a few questions that students ask--until someone suggests that I am doing an interesting dissertation. The teacher takes the bait and asks me what my topic is. I ground myself, take a deep breath and tell him. He goes into alert. His posture changes as he leans toward me slightly and asks pointedly "What is your intention? To make all teachers wrong?" I notice calmly that I have hit a tender spot.

I ask him if there is right and wrong. His voice becomes "invasive", a little too loud, a little too insistent, a little too barbed. He spends almost a quarter of an hour telling me that of course there is right and wrong. What he says gets mixed up in his directives about my dissertation. He tells me what I should and should not be looking at. Asks

nothing about my work. Finally I can get a word in edgewise and suggest that I may see betrayals in a slightly different light than he does, more from the Buddhist perspective of dependent co-arising. "What do you mean by that?" he asks testily. I explain how our whole upbringing and teachers' upbringing is brought into, and colors, the Teacher/Student relationship from the beginning, and out of the "whole" situation "betrayal" arises.

He wants an example. I mention that what our family, religion, government, culture, society have taught us about power and authority for example, and also gender, influences the relationship in obvious and in unconscious ways. He pooh-poohs this and says that these are inconsequential aspects and that 1,000 years from now no one will be interested in them. I should be looking to a much deeper level. I should look at the European Medieval apprenticeship system.

I am talked down at. I am talked "over" so rapidly that there is no chance to voice a view or opinion. There is a level of sarcasm and condescension, as if I couldn't know what I am talking about. There is a commanding quality to the voice, telling me what I should do. I am not asked to talk about my topic, I am told to answer certain questions. I wonder if I would be spoken to as degradingly if I were male?

One competent woman who is also a guest and has done some profound international work between warring factions with compassionate listening skills leans over and says sturdily,

"This is quite a betrayal right here, isn't it?" She is right, of course, but she appears to be the only one noticing anything at all. Everyone else, those who had been hanging on the teacher's every word, seems to be disinterested in the topic. They could be engaged in a giant, communal yawn.

I decide that it is a "lost cause" to say anything at the moment. It is late and I am a guest. I am quite at ease, though, watching what is happening and standing my ground firmly while "deflecting the blows", so to speak.

One woman begins to voice her opinion and interjects several times with some different thoughts. The teachers says "jokingly", "Well, well, ____ is the teacher now." After that the woman says nothing more, but I am not sure she understands what has happened to her. No one else bats an eye, looks askance, or says anything--even a whispering to a neighbor.

The whole dissertation is taking place right in front of my eyes! Power, gender, authority, surrender, suspension of witnessing, etc. The teacher asks if he is totally confusing me. I wonder what on earth I should be confused about and express that to him, saying, in essence, that I'm not at all confused, only about what I should be confused about. At that, the sheik says he is tired and wants to retire. Everyone jumps up and clears a space to say prayers.

It has been an interesting exchange, but I think I, too, have had enough.

This interjection depicts some of the patterns that arise so quickly between teacher, sangha, and student/visitor. That the event happened in the midst of taking interviews, seems synchronous, and so it is included here at the beginning of the story section. The stories are, of course, part of the findings, but I have given them their own separate chapter not only because they are so compelling, but because they are the heart of the research. I regard the stories, as they are told here, as the first step of the analysis, because they have been condensed out of 2-hour interviews according to descriptive phrases and sentences which I felt best captured the essence of the experience. For the analysis I used the original transcripts to get more complete, unfiltered data.

As reported earlier, the stories were written first with the gender of both teacher and student hidden, or neutralized. Only after the resonance group and my chairperson felt that gender dynamics might be important for the reader to understand what was happening within the teacher/student relationship, did I put gender back into the stories. I first called each interviewee and asked if they were comfortable with putting the genders back into the stories. We discussed putting them back in "truthfully" and the possibility of disguising the genders by using the opposite. I was concerned for the interviewees' anonymity and also for the teachers. All the interviewees felt that we should use their true gender and the true gender of their teachers.

The stories are presented in random order. Each is framed by a short introduction about the story-teller, and a closing presentation and photo of the Ikebana arrangement. The stories are entirely in the words of the teller culled from original transcripts, so they often read unevenly, even choppily, but each has its own distinct "flavor". Please honor them in the reading, as I have tried to honor and respect them in the telling.

ARIAKE

"A Nun's Faith is Smashed"

Ariake is the only person in the study whom I have not personally met. She contacted me after the other interviews were completed, but she seemed to be a valuable addition to the study because she was very much in the middle of the struggle to recover from her experience. Ariake is extremely isolated in terms of people who know about her Zen experience and betrayal, which makes it even more difficult for her to explore this traumatic event. In talking with her on the phone for the interview and in subsequent conversations, I sensed her emotional fragility around this issue. She touched me deeply and at times caused me concern.

She also pushed me to recognize my own control issues in wanting her story to contain what I felt, somewhere deep inside, was important for this project. She courageously tackled the story I edited from her interview and sat with it

for many hours, working it over (and over) to her (and my) satisfaction. I believe it was especially difficult for her to complete this project as I feel she has experienced less healing than others in the study. The outer circumstances of her life have been dramatically touched. She gave up her previous profession to become a Buddhist nun and now ekes out a living doing healing energy work, living from contributions instead of charging for her work. I am grateful to her for sharing her story and difficult recovery.

Ariake is in her early 50s. It has been 10 years since Ariake's experience and 7 years since the last telephone contact with her teacher, who was Japanese and her first Zen teacher. Ariake had practiced briefly with other Buddhist traditions before coming to the teacher in her story. Ariake's is not one of the original eight stories and it was not included in the stories responded to by the interviewees because it arrived too late in the study. Ariake did, however, respond to the original eight stories herself, and her response is presented with the others. Here is her story.

I started my practice in 1978, and met my Zen teacher in 1979. The zendo was quite a distance from where I lived, so for the first 5 years I saw my teacher only at sesshins. In 1983, I became a resident at the monastery and, in 1984, I was ordained and joined the staff.

I feel the betrayal happened long before the first incident of sexual abuse because the "Zen institution" set Roshi up as enlightened and infallible. Even when I heard rumors that Roshi had had sex with students, there was no mention of students in any way being harmed. Because Roshi was very charismatic and attractive, I took it upon myself to ensure that nothing sexual would happen between us. I was afraid to show any friendliness towards him at all and tried to make myself unattractive. That effort impaired our relationship.

I was intimidated by Roshi, as were a lot of students. Basically, you never knew what he would do, so you walked on eggs. A lot of ego-bashing went on in the name of the dharma. Roshi trashed students in front of others and I could not always see that the student had done anything wrong. Indeed, this humiliation seemed quite arbitrary. Roshi was emotionally abusive to me, too, all those years. The more serious the student, the more abuse (s)he might expect from the teacher, and it seemed there was some kind of Zen rule that students should never be given any praise. This abuse was thought to be Zen Roshi behavior.

I feel this whole climate is what made it easy for my teacher to eventually abuse me sexually. The first incident happened when I had been a student for 9 years. I had just finished a 1,000-day monastery commitment and voluntary celibacy vow. It was summer and the schedule was much more

relaxed than the usual strict asceticism. On this particular rest day we had an all-day picnic.

By the time evening fell, I was quite shamefully intoxicated. In a quiet moment I was inspired by a drunken insight. Like a little child I wanted to present it to Roshi. I hurried back to the main building and saw Roshi looking out the window, but when I entered the building the lights were off. I saw him standing on the landing just outside his quarters. Excited by my insight, I bravely went straight up the stairs. On the small landing I found myself standing very close to him. I felt intimidated by this close proximity and spontaneously placed the flat of my hand on the front of his shoulder. Perhaps this was intended to bridge the gap between this giant and myself. He drew me closer and kissed me. Things went from there.

The next day I thought, "Maybe this is okay. It might broaden our relationship." We had never had good communication, and there was this Zen thing about not having to communicate verbally; I had never talked to Roshi about what was going on in my practice. Intermittently for the next three years we had a sexualized teacher/student relationship, although he was married. It took me a long time to see that something was wrong, but in hindsight I would say from the time things were sexualized I no longer had a teacher.

It really hit me that something was very wrong when one day Roshi suddenly turned on me for no reason. I was getting

transmission about how to do ceremonies, weddings, and funerals needed in a career as a priest. During one of those teaching meetings, Roshi misunderstood a statement I made--and went ballistic. In a rage he turned on me, shouting in his huge Zen voice. I was stunned. In that moment it all came together for me that something was terribly wrong. For a person to speak this way to someone they were having sex with no longer seemed like something Zen, but just very sick behavior. I went to my room where I cried for 3 days, unable to stop or leave the room. I realized that everything was destroyed. The unthinkable had happened. The relationship with my teacher and the zendo was over.

I spent the next 3 years trying to reconcile with Roshi. All I wanted was to be back in the monastery. The meaning and purpose of my life, my vocation, was to be a nun, a monastic. I couldn't do that now without being reconciled. In the end I just disappeared very quietly from the sangha, and since then I haven't been practicing in community. I tried going other places because I thought I'd go crazy from the isolation, but it was so heartbreaking, I couldn't. My practice, although solitary, has helped me, and without it I don't know if I would have survived. But it has gradually deteriorated, 'til it's practically nothing.

My faith was smashed. I believed that Zazen was going to be truly transformative and up to a point it was. In the early years of practice, I was healed physically and

emotionally. I can't understand how I have lost faith even in spite of precious Dharma experience.

I am dismayed that the power/energy from practice can be used for other than good. My teacher used that power--not just the power of position, but spiritual power--to manipulate and in other ways harm people. He sometimes used that power to trigger something in the heart chakra. I thought he did this with everybody, as some kind of blessing to help students open up. Now I wonder about the motivation, as Roshi's negative energy was also very powerful.

I finally gave up trying to reconcile after a phone conversation in which Roshi spewed out such hatred that, when I hung up, I vomited. After that, I would sometimes wake up in the night and start crying. I would cry until I began gagging and vomiting. I know this sounds extreme, but four different people have reported bouts of vomiting after being sexually abused by this teacher. One student vomited right in the street in front of the zendo after an encounter with him.

In some ways I've functioned fairly well in the 10 years since I had to leave my zendo, and until just this year I have had the joy of service through my own dharma work. It has been most fulfilling, but the work has been greatly hampered by not being affiliated with a zendo. However, my functioning seems more impaired as time goes on. Hours of emotional suffering have been part of every day in these 10 years. For the first 3 years I cried. As time went on and I wasn't

getting to sesshin, I started to get angry. The more I saw that maybe I couldn't go back at all and that nothing was being done about continuing conditions, the angrier I became.

I see the problem more in the structure of things than in the fact that one person has problems. For one thing, we see (are encouraged to see) teachers as being different/ superhuman. I didn't just get that idea myself, it was a real set-up. We're led into believing this because of how it's presented by the Zen institution. The teacher isn't going to do anything wrong because teachers are good guys, right? Students are very idealistic, very sincere, and devoted to what this teacher/student relationship is supposed to be. Roshi was the primary relationship of everybody there. No one thought of dissent.

Attempts at change have been futile. Roshi was even investigated by the sex crimes division of the office of District Attorney, but nothing could be done because, in our state, if there is no "forcible rape" there is no criminal offense. For decades, attempts by the sangha to oust Roshi have been unsuccessful. A unanimous vote of the board is needed for that, and Roshi is a member of the board.

This year I've stopped crying and being angry quite so much, instead I'm now going into a depression. This trauma has taken all meaning out of my life, and it has affected every relationship I have, including those with my own children. I feel cut off from others and from my own heart.

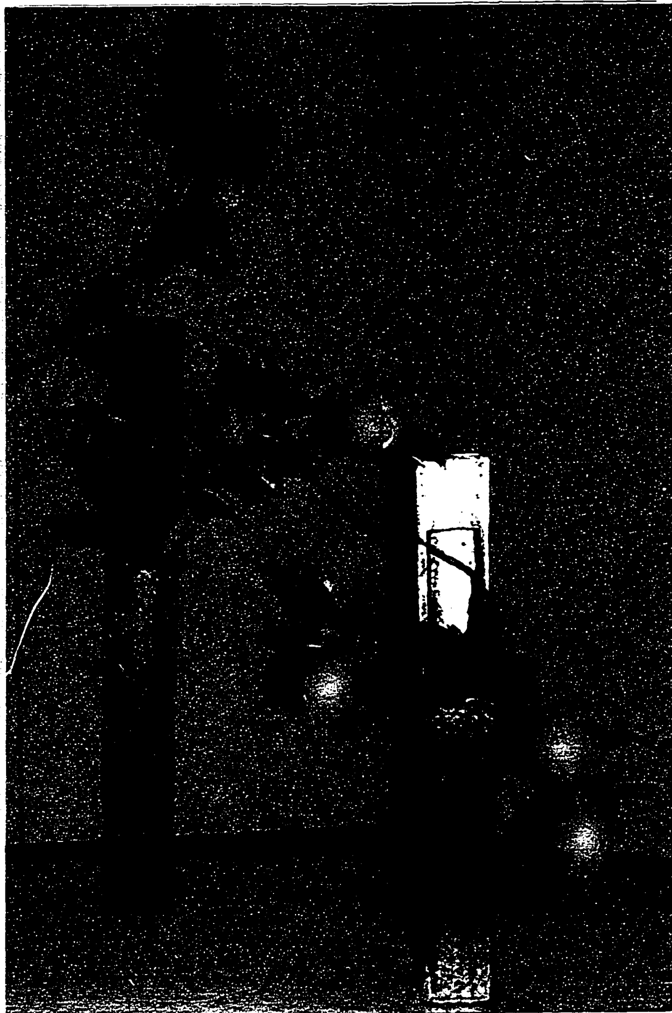
I haven't told anyone close to me about this. I gained 90 pounds in a very short period. I think it helps me to avoid having a sexual relationship, which I've never had again.

It feels as if I've got no life. "Get a life!" I could get one, but I don't know how, or where, any more. It's heartbreaking. I wake up every morning thinking, "I don't know where to go, what to do...." Nowadays I'm thinking maybe I had to go back to square one and totally lose my practice in order to start it again without Roshi.

I don't see this as something that happened in the past, it's still happening. The damage to my life is extensive, but worst of all has been the destruction of my religious vocation and the corrosion of a once strong practice. I have not found resources for healing, as other than the healing of the whole sangha, the only healing I could find would be through Zazen. Zazen and sesshin have been the most precious things in my life, aside from life itself. I don't understand why I am not able to do this thing I love so much. I just want my practice back.

The flower arrangement for Ariake is the only arrangement with two containers. Perhaps this is indicative of the push-pull relationship we had with the content of her story! This "dance of intimacy" was a constant with us for several weeks. I did not choose the materials for this Ikebana, I was given several lemon tree branches with fruit the day before my

lesson. I think the work Ariake did was not "sweet," but rather "bitter." Even sour fruits can make a tasteful arrangement. The bitter work we did, she transformed into a helpful story and response. Although the containers are of unequal size, note that neither part of the arrangement overpowers the other. That is true of our relationship, too.



JAMIE

"Pulled Off The Pillow"

Jamie is a Zen teacher in her 50s. In my notes I write that, "she is warm and friendly, and feels very solid, very organized without feeling pedantic or compulsive. She feels so very honest, and as though she expects honesty in return. You couldn't put anything over on this woman, you wouldn't get away with it. She knows her own mind, is very clear and direct."

I felt at home in her bright and cheery zendo. Jamie, by reason of her profession (she is a clinical psychologist and Jungian therapist), had solid inner resources at her disposal at the time of her betrayal experiences. This was a good thing, because her life was in turmoil for a number of years with divorce, a second marriage, deaths, and betrayal. The description of her healing process has familiar elements, and at the same time is unusual and unlike the others. She experienced betrayal by two different teachers, one American and one Japanese. The experiences were early in her Zen training and then several years later. Unlike most of the other co-researchers, Jamie's second experience was being witness to the betrayal of another woman and being sucked into the aftermath of that. Read her story below.

I was in the middle of a sesshin. I had really gotten into the overwhelming feeling that I wanted to be a priest. I

waited for dokusan and told Roshi that I wanted to be a priest. At that point he reached over and pulled me off the pillow and into an embrace. It was a sexual advance. I was terrified and paralyzed, but then I just bolted up on my feet, left him sitting there, and without a word, ran out of the room. I quit going to the Zen center. I didn't talk to Roshi for maybe 10 years. So it completely and abruptly, at a very poignant moment, just ripped up the fabric of my practice. I didn't talk to anybody about it. I wasn't monastic and the lineage is quite monastic, so I didn't feel I had the right to talk about him in that way. I didn't want to be labeled as a trouble maker, and I didn't want people to think I made it up. So I just slithered away [not taking part in meditation.]

Afterwards, I didn't really doubt my perceptions, but I couldn't figure out the meaning of what had happened. "Well, maybe he's just a kind of wild and exuberant type, or something," I would think. But then, "No. You're a full-grown woman. You know a sexual advance when you experience it." I [participated] on the periphery, taking classes at the center. I had a lot of rage in class and I didn't put it together with the event with Roshi. I just thought I was working through layers in my own personality. I did stay in the class because I was bound and determined I wasn't going to let rage throw me out of the door completely. So I sat through all this rage and it was quite an overwhelming feeling, that lasted several years. Then I moved out of town

and got turned on to another teacher. It was only when I decided to practice with this new Roshi that I felt healed from the previous experience.

My projection now was that this Roshi was an ideal teacher, a good parental teacher and the original teacher was the bad offspring, a flamboyant, American renegade. That went along very fine for several years. I became very close to Roshi, who promoted me, and told me to start a Zen center in my city. I taught classes, built up groups. I was in a vulnerable place because I was alone, and I didn't have enough seasoning to do what I was doing without his full support. Then one day when Roshi was visiting our house, he asked if we could go for a ride in the car. We drove around for a while and he was looking very uncomfortable. Finally it came out that Roshi wanted me to take care of a student that was in trouble. I just had an intuition and I said, "Is it sexual--with you?" "Yes."

I was absolutely devastated. I actually froze at that point, I just became numb. Roshi did have the student come and see me. Because I'm a clinical psychologist, I could see that the student was quite disturbed, and probably should have been in the hospital. The student's condition deteriorated and she would call me on the phone; she'd threaten to kill my children and to cut me. It was really wild stuff, and the whole situation terrified me. I was afraid of the student; I was afraid of Roshi; I was afraid to leave the house because

this person actually could kill. My children could get involved. Then, this person began compulsively calling the Zen center, maybe 10 times a day, wouldn't stop. The staff was all upset, they labeled her a "crazy." I kept telling Roshi the student needed to be hospitalized; her parents needed to be encouraged to put her in hospital. But Roshi wouldn't do it because of his fear of exposure. His whole thing was, "You take care of it!" It was a mess.

Finally the student faded away. The calls stopped. Nobody knows what happened, whether she is alive or dead, or ever got any kind of treatment. I certainly hadn't been any help in the situation. The whole thing put me over the edge because my ideal solution to the first happening [was the relationship with my then-current teacher] turned out [to involve the abuse of sex] ...it went on for years and it was awful. It finally broke my relationship with Roshi. Because no one knew what was happening, I was labeled as a person who pulled out of relationship with the Roshi; it was said that I was not serious enough about practice to go on.

My ideal was broken. With the first experience, I had felt rage at being violated and at the non-safeness of the interview situation. This time it was despair and grief. I compartmentalized the experience; I was all bottled up inside. It was a kind of death experience of which I subsequently had many. I withdrew and became very depressed. For a year I was in bad shape; I never left the house. I went a year without

sitting and didn't know if I would ever really go on with Zen. I couldn't go back to the cushion, the experiences sort of destroyed that. Then Roshi died, with no resolution between us. I got a divorce; I remarried, and a year later my second partner died. Subsequently my son went out of control.

In that whole period something happened. I was able to accept that death of my ideal, because I had to accept the death of my partner. There was some kind of healing; it just came out of the random universe. I was actually able to use the energy of the betrayal and de-idealization as a liberation for myself. I took my own inner authority. I was like a Phoenix. After about a year I started waking up and regained myself. It was a death and rebirth.

I took all the good things I had gotten from Roshi. The whole factor of impermanence hit me very deeply on all levels during this period. I thought, "This is the end of projection onto idealized figures." Then I thought, "Who's going to do this Buddha way, if it isn't you?" The teacher wasn't going to carry it for me anymore. I knew I was never going to have that kind of relationship again. I got tired of being in transferences and thought, "You're going to have to reach deeper in yourself, make sure of what counts, and build things because nothing is going to happen using alliances with people's trust, that's for sure." It's the kind of thing, either you gain confidence or die.

I went through a period where I wanted to change lineages. Then I started going back to my original center, doing things there. I got a lot of support from both centers to actually go and start my own group. I got this place and we have several other groups. Then I realized that I had to reinvest in a teacher, just realized that this was the end of another period. So I went and found somebody.

After the incident with this woman student, Roshi became super strict and did the opposite of what he should have done, namely gone to somebody and tried to sort things out, gotten supervision. But he recoiled and tried to put the lid on sexuality. After Roshi died, it came out that he had made passes at other students. At a meeting where the Board was behaving self-righteously about the accusations leveled at Roshi, one Board member said, "I had an affair with the man. What are you talking about?" Then the whole thing came out and it was very painful for everyone.

I was also in a Jungian training program at this time. A trainee there revealed that she was involved with the head of the training. I went to the Jungians to get away from the Zen debacle, and I ended up going through it all again, one more time. A lot happened, but I had a lot to fall back on. I was a therapist myself and I went into my own analysis, so I had therapy for all this.

This sturdy arrangement with the thick, well-placed stalks in graceful relationship and the crisp, robust leaves has a sturdy "feel" to it. The stalks stand firmly between the rocks in the container giving the impression, as does Jamie, of being well-grounded. This solid essence is off-set by the gentle curve of the stem of orchids and softened by the delicate yellow flowers themselves. The leaves are from the calla lily plant outside my door. They "beckoned" me the week I interviewed Jamie. The orchids caught my eye in the flower shop because their curve so well matched that of the calla stalks; orchids are sensitive and graceful. The simplicity and the essence of this honest arrangement very much mirror what I felt in Jamie's presence.



LEE

"Tainted Buddhism"

Lee came to the research via another member of the Zen community who was acquainted with my work and passed her a copy of my introductory letter. When Lee responded, I found her story compelling.

It has been 10 years since the events in Lee's story, when she was 44 years old. She told her experience with her first Zen teacher, an American woman, almost dispassionately, carefully taking responsibility and presenting a balanced view of it. However, in her response, Lee puts the responsibility heavily on herself, rather exonerating the teacher. Her thoughts were so well-ordered that the interview was the shortest of the nine. Lee is very articulate, yet she often seemed hesitant, pausing and searching for words that were "just right."

Lee was the only interviewee whom I interviewed at my home. At the interview, Lee was dressed in beige and white, her hair was blonde with gray tones. The impression was one of quiet elegance. This calm, neutral exterior rather well matched the quietness of her story-telling. Both belie the rather dramatic events. Here is the unfolding.

I had been living with my partner for around 5 years, when we heard about this Zen center. Friends thought it was

absolutely wonderful. As we both were floundering around in life, we went and were both impressed with the teacher.

Not too long before this, my partner had had a brush with cancer. It was very much a scare. My partner felt very ready for a spiritual practice, and I was, too. We started meditating and going to the center once and soon twice a week. We got more and more involved with the center's activities, and even thought maybe we would like to actually live at the monastery they were building and be a full-time part of this community. It was very exciting.

We became central people at the center, and we spent time with the teacher on various projects. My partner and I both had a very strong feeling for the teacher. We talked about it. Was this okay? Were we sort of in love here? We wanted to be careful about that. We talked about the teacher and Zen practice just about all the time, and decided that when you're really serious about something, you do fall in love with it. You fall in love with the whole bag, the teacher, the practice, the whole thing.

Then my partner had a relapse. We began spending a lot of time with the teacher, not just teacher/student time, but social/personal time. For a while it seemed wonderful to have the teacher during this time, to help us. Because the teacher was with us, this terrible, scary time was also a fun, exciting time.

Then the teacher and my partner told me there was an attraction between them. The teacher said, "This is not a sexual thing. That's not the direction this is going." But very soon, as my partner got sicker, that's what happened, they did begin an affair. Toward the end, the teacher was sleeping with my partner while I was sleeping in my room. My partner was pretty weak; all of the good energy was used on the teacher.

The teacher had always emphasized that the sangha was not a social organization, it was for practice. In the discussions after meditation, people never used names or even pronouns, because there was a sense that you didn't talk about personal things, a sense of great carefulness. The teacher was a benevolent dictator who made the rules and decided how things were going to be. During the time my partner was sick, we had a lot of help from the sangha. They would bring food over or come help in the yard, but I never talked to them about what was happening. The sangha were the last people I wanted to know about it. I would have felt like I was betraying my partner and the teacher, showing myself to be weak and bad.

I was in a terrible state. I was going to lose my partner, who was totally in love with the teacher. Whenever I told the teacher how terrible I felt, the reply was that this was my great opportunity to rise above my ego self and to find the kind of love in myself that was big enough to give my

partner everything, to love everyone and not to be possessive. I couldn't do it. I was trying to be this good Buddhist student but felt that I was failing at every moment. I was horribly jealous, and couldn't rise above my jealousy. I felt that I was wrong, making it hard for everybody. I vacillated between hating and loving both of them. I just felt tortured, like I was in a trap. I didn't tell anybody about it. I spent all my time crying, agonizing, and feeling terrible. My feelings about it were incredibly complicated. It was the most painful thing I have ever, ever experienced. I felt the teacher had done a horrible thing, and I was more angry at the teacher than at my partner, in whose position I might have done the same thing.

At that time the teacher was basically ignoring me, had stopped talking to me, would be in our house and hardly speak to me. I would think, "Well, maybe it's good for me to be taken down to the absolute bottom of myself, to be put through the worst possible pain I can be put through." And the pain was terrible.

After my partner died, I was struck with an unreasonable obsession with the teacher. I wanted to keep the teacher close to me at the same time that I was angry. I blamed the teacher for everything. Even given what was happening, the teacher could have been kinder and better to me; seeing how hooked I was, should have said, "We need to stop this relationship completely. You should find another teacher."

The whole experience showed me things about myself that I had never seen in such a vivid way. It took me down really far, and I was just a mess for a really long time. During that time I stayed connected with the center and teacher. I kept trying to find a way to make it all work. It felt like my whole life was bound up with all of this, that there was nothing outside of it. To decide to cut myself off felt like betraying my partner, whose connection with the teacher during those last months had been incredibly valuable. It was very hard to say no to the connection because it meant saying no to my partner.

After my partner died, I had a moment of clear realization. I saw how my obsession with my teacher was about to kill me, and detached from it. It just happened, and it was so clear. But the teacher didn't believe it, interpreted it a different way. I knew the teacher was wrong. I began to distance myself, began to see that the teacher couldn't be the authority for me in all of this. The teacher and I really talked about the whole thing only once. When I said I was seeing a therapist, the teacher had a negative reaction. Finally I saw that I couldn't make it work. There was no point when I said, "I am no longer a part of this." I just stopped going.

For the last two or three years I haven't been meditating at all. I don't go to spiritual events. I have a feeling about meditation, and Buddhism, and the whole thing that's

sort of "ugh." It has all been tainted for me by what happened.

I ended up recording every moment of this whole story. I wrote every day, everything that happened, everything everybody said. Doing that in the midst of it was helpful. I also wrote a book, and that was a major factor in saving me. There was writing and therapy, and just making the decision that I couldn't stand this any more, it was killing me.

I can't say that I have solved this or come to any great conclusions. It's said that a good student can learn from any teacher, but where does the responsibility of the teacher toward the student begin and end? Can the teacher just do absolutely anything, and then the whole responsibility is how the student responds to it? Does the teacher have some responsibility for the student, or not? I don't know the answer to that.

What's been valuable for me is seeing in myself the tendency to want to be saved by someone else, to have my life solved and my path laid out for me and approval given to me. I tend to be attracted to people in positions of power, and sometimes this is a physical attraction.

I feel now that I never want to have a teacher again; I never want to put myself in the position of saying to someone, "You are my authority now, and what you say is what I'm going to do and believe and follow." I think the way I respond to

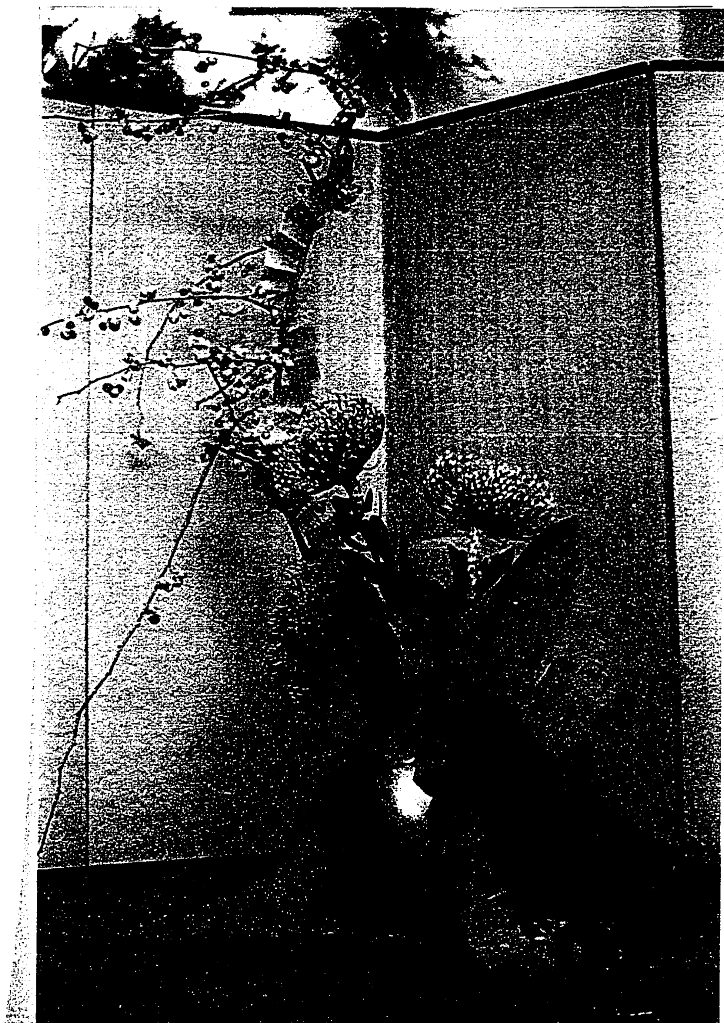
that is not good. I do a wrong thing with it, as I'm not strong enough for it. I need to be stronger in myself.

There's always this sense that if I were a truly correct Zen person I would be living in the moment, wouldn't be still carrying it with me, would have left it behind. I still have this sense of guilt when I talk about it. In the context of Zen practice it isn't what's happening in the world that matters, it's how I am responding to it.

I have pretty much given up on ever trying to figure the teacher out. To be a true teacher in the highest sense is something that hardly anybody can get to. There needs to be a real humility in teachers about what they can and can't do. This sort of thing happens all over the place, and every Zen center seems to have had its own story. What do we do? Do we make a whole bunch of rules about this, or do we just let it happen, and learn from it what we can?

From a beautiful piece of textured orange paper evolved this rather dramatic arrangement. Keeping my first impressions of Lee and the interview in mind, I went to the large wholesale flower market in the city. I found some bittersweet hidden in the back corner of the market and then found the pin cushion protea. Both seemed to be the color of the paper I had at home, and they were. The gold container blended in with the colors by picking up and reflecting the orange tones. When the arrangement was done, I observed the

similar quality of blendedness that struck me in Lee's appearance and way of speaking. The drama and uniqueness gets hidden in the tone-in-tone quality of her appearance and language. Here unique, bold flowers and a dramatic container make an arrangement whose tone-in-tone colors soften the flamboyant quality.



LAUREN

"A Kind of Spirit Breaking"

Lauren and I played telephone tag for weeks before finally being able to arrange an interview. Setting up a meeting was more difficult than with any other co-researcher. When we finally met, I had forgotten my tape recorder at home, so we had to find yet another agreeable time for both of us. Lauren was tentative about whether his experience was a betrayal or not, so he was not sure if he "fit" the study. From his descriptions I felt that he would certainly be a "match."

Lauren has a soft-spoken, inviting voice, and an open, friendly face. It has been over 12 years since his experience which was with his second Zen teacher, an American. He changed his profession, or found it, as a direct result of the betrayal. When I arrive for the interview, Lauren is still napping. I wait in his office where things are scattered about, reminding me of the kind of scattered way we tried to connect and set up an interview. When Lauren is wakened, he comes, turns up the heat, and makes us tea. Quiet and composed, he tells the following story.

I think there's something "betraying" in the experience I had, but it wasn't necessarily one particular event. I started practicing Zen when I was 21. My teacher went back to Japan a few years later, but I was certainly inspired.

Practice spoke to me; my life developed a lot; I had relationships and friends in the sangha. I had never had anything like that before. I was ordained by the Roshi who replaced my original teacher and was given more and more responsibility in the sangha. There was a pool of people who were committed, hook-line-and-sinker to the center, and I was among them.

There was enormous expansion at the center. Businesses were created. I was asked to be treasurer, an important position that I filled for 5 years. It was a good job, but by the end of those 5 years I really wanted to be given a teaching position, an opportunity to develop as a teacher. Instead, Roshi asked me to be the president of the center. I was very upset about it. In hindsight I would say that though I could do such a job very well, doing it didn't really serve my spiritual development. I think now that Roshi saw what was necessary for the center and for himself, and didn't see past that to what was good for me. This is a kind of betrayal.

At the time, I was ignorant of Roshi's sexual misbehavior. But what I wasn't ignorant of was the feeling that there was just something wrong. There was a tremendous disparity between Roshi's lifestyle, (cash flow, expensive car, extravagant new home) and everyone else's. I would go to meetings of senior leaders of the center and say, "So what about this and what about that, this is not good, that's not good." Roshi basically hit me over the head with a sledge

hammer about how I didn't understand, giving me the sense that I was no good. If you brought up a problem with the way he was doing something, he usually turned it into a problem with your practice. It was your lack of understanding rather than his behavior that was the problem.

The turning point in the plot of George Orwell's *1984* provides a kind of metaphor for my experience. There, when the main character is threatened with rats, which he fears more than anything, he turns against his lover saying, "Do it to her!" His torturers don't have to punish or kill him now because his spirit is totally broken. That is exactly the way I think it happened with Roshi and me. There was a spirit-breaking, such that I had no power, no weapon, no way of being an authority in the situation. The only explanation for any problem was my failure. If I left the center, it would only be because I was a failure. The creation and maintenance of such a system was a betrayal.

So perhaps I would have an experience of something, and bring it up. Roshi had lots of explanations, negations, and reasons why it didn't matter, why it wasn't so. His explanation was understood to be the truth. My teacher said so, so that's the truth. The truth was what he told me. I would actually experience something as the truth and then there was his truth and they didn't match. I realize now that I filled the chasm between the two with self-deprecation. I

consider that a kind of betrayal, not to allow a person, not even encourage a person, to have his/her actual experience.

You can't have betrayal unless you have trust. If you're practicing seriously, you put your trust in the teacher and the practice. If you're practicing, it's a matter of life and death. It's not just a hobby. This is something that moves you deeply and that you open yourself to very, very deeply. If that's so, and there's somebody there who's representing that which you're opening to, well, they'd better be taking care of things pretty well, and they need to be humble. What I was making vulnerable was very big relative to what I make vulnerable to the cashier in the supermarket. There's a trust there, too, but very little vulnerability and openness.

I would go into dokusan completely open and vulnerable. Pretty much everything about me, I felt, was seen and known by the teacher, which, from my current perspective, was probably not the case. I think the degree to which you trust and the degree to which you make yourself vulnerable speak to the degree of betrayal that can occur. That degree is very great in spiritual practice for people who really take it up in a serious way.

The betrayal was two-fold. I entrusted myself to Roshi's care and guidance, which trust he used to his own advantage. And two, he failed to use that trust to help me develop. He squandered it instead of giving me a kind of "goodness," like a parent filling a child with good feelings about him/herself.

So I became more and more filled with a sense of inadequacy and awfulness. I had an idealizing transference with Roshi. I needed, I was hungry for, an ideal figure. Such a state is immature, but I think it is the responsibility of the teacher, like a parent, to turn that immaturity into a positive experience that develops your sense of yourself, your confidence in yourself, your self-esteem--so that you can reclaim those idealized parts for yourself. What this relationship should reaffirm, support, invest in, is the connection between the student and the Divine. My experience was quite the opposite: "Well, you don't really have a connection to the Divine. I've got the connection to the Divine. It just so happens that I actually have it, the Truth, and you don't. Maybe some day, maybe you'll get it."

My level of discouragement increased; my level of encouragement decreased until I felt pretty awful about who I was and what my practice was. It was then a friend pointed out to me that this might be because of problems on Roshi's side. That blew my mind. I was astounded. It simply hadn't occurred to me. This friend also pointed out a pattern: the closer you got to Roshi, the worse you felt about yourself.

I became more and more discouraged with my life and my practice. I was carrying on, but I don't know what would have happened if it hadn't all blown up. All Roshi's misbehavior came out into the open. When everything blew apart, it was greatly relieving for me because it actually supported who I

understood myself to be. It felt like enlightenment, and it was a major identity crisis. I was fucked up big time, just upset about all this stuff, and it disrupted my practice enormously. I stopped going to zazen on a daily basis. There was the feeling that the previous years had been bullshit, like I'd wasted that time. My sense of myself as a practitioner was really shook up. The false footing was removed; that left me in Nowheresville. I haven't actually had another teacher since. That's pretty difficult. It erodes my sense of confidence in myself as someone who understands the dharma.

I was sent to a monastery to be head of the practice for a year. In terms of healing, that really helped me. In that first 3-month practice period, I remembered why I was practicing, why I had come to practice in the first place. I had gotten further and further from the essential teaching. That year was paradise. It saved my life and my practice.

The other thing that really helped me was a book by the Swiss Jungian, Guggenbuehl-Craig, called *Power in the Helping Professions*. I joke with people that reading that book was an "enlightenment experience." It was really about Roshi and me. What had been going on was not that I was a terrible person, a terrible Zen student, and didn't know anything or how to practice. Not at all. It was this other thing. What I see now is that it had to do with a pathological relationship between the teacher and me, and with the teacher's personality

disorder. Finding an alternative explanation to the same set of events, it's like entering a new universe.

I had a resurgence of interest in and respect for Western psychology. I began my own psychotherapy. Western psychology had been a suppressed topic at the center for years. Zazen and Zen practice was presented as really all you needed, the answer to all problems. If it wasn't, that was a failing on your part. If you needed anything else, there was something wrong with you.

I don't know why the experience didn't devastate me thoroughly. I think of myself as having had a very difficult childhood, a very difficult relationship with my parents, emotional problems. I've been a depressed person for years and still have lots of difficulties. If I were to put it metaphorically, though the experience shook the boat, since the boat was made strongly, it didn't completely destroy the boat. Except that contradicts my own sense that the boat is not made very strongly.

This Ikebana arrangement was originally made for the first interviewee of the study. Although she dropped out of the research, I feel that the arrangement could be used for almost every one of the co-researchers because it expresses a quality that I sensed in all subsequent interviewees. However, this hit me first as I looked at the completed arrangement. The Ikebana made me aware of what I saw in Rose,

and then subsequently in other interviewees as well. In the presence of Lauren this quality seemed particularly noticeable to me. It is a purity, a simplicity or "untaintedness" or "untouchedness", a quality of right-intention, something "innocent" in a positive sense.

The white rose came from a friend's garden. Its honest, untouched whiteness seemed the perfect symbol for this quality. In this arrangement, called "Simplicity Arrangement," the container is also very important. I chose a simple bronze container with unusually graceful lines that complements the flower. Embossed cranes, the symbol for longevity, encircle the vase. The flower is placed very carefully and can be viewed equally well from all sides -- like the aforementioned quality that shines evenly and steadily from those who possess it.



MORGAN

"The Never-Ending Betrayal"

Morgan had the longest, most involved story of betrayal, in part because it was on-going for years through no fault of her own, but because her community would not stand behind her. We met at a large Zen center where she often visits. Everyone knew her, but when I came in I asked to see "Morgan," using her American name; all the attendants and the office people kept saying, "Morgan? Morgan? There's no one here by that name." Finally I said that was impossible as she was a Zen teacher and there on invitation, so of course they knew her. "Oh," said one person, "I wonder if that could be ______?" using Morgan's Japanese name. I really had to wonder at the seeming arrogance (my projection?) of that reception.

Morgan is a physician. 8 years have gone by since the last incident reported in this story, when Morgan was in her mid 40s. The first experience of betrayal took place with an American teacher, who only later received transmission (permission to teach wholly on one's own,) and the second experience was with a Japanese teacher. Subsequently, her whole community of peer teachers was unsupportive. When, after her own betrayal, Morgan began working with abused children, she grew into a mighty advocate not only for them, but for those who had been "spiritually abused." Her ability to look at herself and turn her experience into helpful and

positive learnings is inspiring. These are her own words about her path.

CHAPTER I: I met B. when I was quite young in the practice. My husband and I had moved to be at the Zen center where Roshi, my teacher, was. B. was very attentive, which was flattering because he was ordained, was senior to me, and was teaching me. He took me on as his special student, took me for long walks, took me out of sesshin, gave me tea, and talked to me. I didn't realize at the time how much that was breaking the rules. B. became more and more persistent about the relationship becoming sexual. That first time we did have sex I remember thinking, "I wonder if this isn't a big mistake?" I think I was in love with the dharma because he was certainly not an appropriate partner.

I became ordained. My husband didn't like that, so B. was the person I could talk to about practice. Then the truth about our affair erupted in both our families and we had a meeting where we kind of all cried together. We made an agreement that we would be with our respective spouses, but I had to avoid B. when I realized he was still on the make. Once I was working late at night at the Zen center and he came to see me, sexually harassing me again ... and he essentially raped me. That was so disgusting and humiliating and I thought, "Never am I going to allow that to happen again." I was very careful after that never to be alone with him.

B. knew me, and could get at me in ways that nobody else could. He would do things deliberately as if to say, "Well, here's where you're stuck." He had some power over me because he could see through me and see those places where I was stuck. He would play to those places and then he would go for them. Later on, he worked with a psychiatrist for a brief period. After that, he told me, "My attitude towards you was 'Fuck you.'" Well, that was true! It was screw you, screw your agenda. But he did it in the guise of dharma teaching.

A sexual relationship with Roshi began after the one with B. ended. We were deep into transmission work and this time it felt like a mutual relationship. I loved him very much. Again, it was falling in love with the dharma. He was not coercive at all, and even said several times that this probably wasn't the right thing to be doing.

Several years elapsed. The sexual involvements and alcoholism among the center's teachers became known. All of B.'s subsequent affairs came out. My affair with Roshi came out. It was a very painful time, a horrible time. It made me realize that I wasn't a special relationship to B., I was just part of a predatory pattern. It was like a cesspool being exposed. People were furious at me, at the teachers, at the women involved. Roshi went into alcohol treatment. B. left to set up his own center. A lot of people treated me like I was the seductress, the temptress, who had brought the pure Roshi down.

I was a teacher by then and for a while the only one left at the center, left holding the bag. It was unbelievably horrible. My marriage fell apart out of all of this, a 17-year marriage. There were other reasons, too, but this was the last straw. It was a lesson for me on humility to just let this all go on and meet it. I felt very much responsible at the time.

I decided to leave the center. I didn't actually do any sitting and zazen for a couple of years, I was really shaken. If this was the epitome of enlightenment, then what is it? Is there really anything of value here? I went into counseling because I wanted to see if there was something wrong with me that led to these relationships with B. and with Roshi.

The whole thing was deeply undermining to my sense of whether I could really teach. I had done so much harm to so many people and didn't understand all the dynamics of what had happened. I was worried about some flaw in me, or some boogie man that would jump out of the closet and destroy another marriage, and I couldn't face that. It took 2 years of living together for me to decide, okay, I would marry my present husband.

I began working with child abuse. Through this I was able to begin to understand the dynamics of victimization and how people in power misuse those who are younger or less-trained. I realized we had an incestuous situation at the Zen center. We had an alcoholic family. I had to really look at

the precepts and how we had side-stepped them. We had interpreted them in the most "liberal" way, which is that if you're really enlightened, then you can use all things skillfully and you're above and beyond everything. I had bought into that; I definitely believed that I was above everybody. So the crushing that happened was important and very necessary for me.

As part of that looking I asked, "Do I want to even be involved in Zen?" After examining other religions I came back to Zen and realized the benefits of bare bones Zen practice, just meditating. I had to rebuild my practice all over again. I was really watching for where power could be misused, as it was so subtle and easy to do.

CHAPTER II: A call came from B.'s new practice center. He had had yet another affair, and had been sexually involved with a number of students. So he left that center and moved back to our area. I met with him; I was afraid of him, but very determined.

I said, "B., you have a big problem, you are a sexual predator. You need therapy." I told him, "I don't want you teaching here until you get this thing handled." He wouldn't agree to anything. Then, at a subsequent meeting of Zen teachers, I heard him say he was going to build a big training center in our area. I thought, "Oh, my god. He has no intention of honoring what I asked him to do." I panicked because I felt like I was being backed into a corner and raped

again. I was being backed into a corner again. So I brought it up at the meeting and explained the situation about B., laid it out in shorthand to the teachers there. They agreed to ask B. not to do anything for a year, and during that time he would work on his issues. We would try to meet three times during that year with neutral teachers from another lineage who would help us oversee the situation.

B. didn't meet with us the three times. I heard through the grapevine that he had started building a place. I thought, "This is happening again." The old terror and distress were building up. Denial from his side. He didn't show up for the final meeting, said it was a mix-up in time, but we had called to remind him. I felt like I was going crazy, becoming paranoid. I called the people at the center he had left a year ago to find out what had really happened. It had been horrible. B. had sold their center out from under them. He had taken all the money and left them with no place, no teacher, no sangha. I had the sense of, "Thank god. It's not just me going crazy." The people there were relieved to talk to me and get some validation.

A therapist at that center had actually spoken to B. when he first went there and said, "Some of my clients who are probably going to practice with you have been incest and abuse victims. These people are verboten, don't you dare touch them, because you'll destroy them." She's one of the first people I contacted at that center and she said she had found

out that B. had had relationships with those very women. Then I found out about a woman who was in terrible shape and who later committed suicide. There was yet another woman with whom B. had had an overnight "thing" and raped in his drunkenness; her marriage was falling apart because her husband blamed her for what happened. I thought, "There's a mess here. It involves not only sexual misconduct, but misuse of power in various ways."

When I began to check with those who had been involved in these situations, they would say, "Yes, things are terrible. I'll talk to you tomorrow. Let me check it out with Roshi." They had fled B. and gone to study with Roshi. Roshi silenced them, "Keep it under the rug. B. has reformed. Let bygones be bygones." Lifelong friends in the dharma called me and said, "Don't you realize that creating disharmony in the sangha is grounds for expulsion from it?" I dreaded answering the phone. People berated me for uncovering this whole thing. At one point I was beside myself and thought, "I can't go on. I'm going to back down from this." But I thought of asking very young child victims to go on the witness stand with the perpetrator sitting in the courtroom and to testify, and I thought, "If I don't have enough courage to do this myself, I can't go on in the child abuse work." So that was a turning point. There were also all these women around the country who had been abused by B. and were very supportive and scared to death, more scared than I was. I had to keep going.

So again we had our yearly Zen teacher's meeting, and this time B. was not there. The other teachers said, "We're dealing with the fallout from B. all the time. Students are fleeing from his place. They're damaged. Something's got to be done." So we wrote a statement to Roshi thinking he would have control over B., because he's the teacher who authorized B. to teach. We told Roshi we had concerns over ongoing issues of sexual misconduct and misuse of power in various ways. We asked that Roshi consider asking B. not to teach for 6 months and to get some treatment. That letter was sent. It was like a bomb exploding. Roshi was furious. B. was furious. My dharma brothers were upset. "Why don't you let this drop? B.'s not going to do it again."

Then we decided to host a meeting with Roshi and B., and B.'s supporters, and to ask some people who had been victims to come in and testify, an open hearing. Roshi agreed and then threatened not to come. The week before the meeting, Roshi called me and said he was coming to see me and talk about the meeting. So he came. It was very polite for the first couple of hours. Then he said, "Now I want to talk to you about this meeting. Here's what I want you to say," which was basically that B. and I had had a disagreement about this and it's all over now, all is forgiven and we're going to go on. After I said, "No!" to his request, Roshi was silent and then he got snarly. Roshi exploded. He was just screaming in a fit of rage. I have never seen anything like it. He

wouldn't help me. No one from my lineage would help me. At the end of the ensuing meeting there was no decision. Roshi said, "Let bygones by bygones." At the next meeting of teachers from my lineage, they made me apologize to B. because B. had finally announced he was going to leave my area.

This is the Ikebana arrangement for Morgan. Unlike the others, it was not made at the time of the interview, but months later while I was contemplating her story. That week, this arrangement "materialized." The container, although made of paper, stands solidly because it is triangular. One side is of thick black paper, the other two are striped. The container is as colorful, and as black, as Morgan's story. The paper is bold, as I feel Morgan has been in standing up and advocating "right action" in the most difficult situations. The choice of the magnolia branches was appropriate in an unintentional way, as was the choice of paper before hand. I saw the magnolia while visiting a friend's. Intuitively I saw them as a good combination with the paper, so I wouldn't let up until my friend went with me to her neighbor where I asked if I could snip a few small branches from her tree. The simplicity of the magnolia flower, the white color, Morgan's simple, honest approach to her dilemmas, her bold willingness to stand her ground, and that pure quality found in all interviewees are evident to me as I contemplate the arrangement.



CHRIS

"Subtle Betrayal, Subtle Aftermath"

Chris and I met in her cozy, cheerful, little house, sitting in her bright living room with many wonderful, interesting objects on the shelves and table. It was a lovely setting. Every window looked out on shrubs and trees. We had a meandering kind of interview. It was difficult for me to follow her long, self-reflective thoughts, which she brought forth with almost a tentative quality--as if she wanted to be fair and non-judgmental while looking at every aspect of what had happened in her sangha. During the interview I had to interrupt and ask where she felt the betrayal was. Nothing actually "happened" to Chris, and yet something *did* happen on a profound level. What it is, is not easy to detect in her story because it is not easy to describe. What was most difficult to find in her interview was the effect her experience has had on her life and well-being in the months and years following. In fact, at one point in the research I actually asked her if I could *not* use her story because it did not seem to fulfill the definition of betrayal used in this research.

After giving it more thought, I felt that the subtlety of this betrayal needed to be included because it reveals how very different betrayals may look. I hope I have managed to convey some of the profound impact this experience has had on her. Though it was difficult to find this sense of being

harmed in her careful interview, in her response, which is included in the appendix under Interviewees' Responses, Chris found her voice, and took a more passionate stand on her own behalf--and quite eloquently, I might add.

After our interview, Chris called me on the phone and mentioned again her own reluctance to talk about the experience, the feeling she "should" remain silent, the up-welling of feelings around the issue, the prohibition against talking, how she "got into her head" and ran from her feelings. She wished we might do the interview over, so she was already sensing something "amiss". There is an air of inner strength and good intuition about Chris,a sense of integrity, and an easy sense of humor. Her experience was with an American woman teacher, who was also her first Zen teacher. Chris had, previously, practiced for short periods in various other Zen groups before choosing the one where her story took place. Chris is now a psychotherapist. Please read her story slowly and reflectively.

I moved to a large city and came down with a chronic illness, which reopened me to spiritual practice. I started sitting meditation, shopping around for practice centers. I went to some events at the big Zen center, but I was intimidated by how big it all was. I was really gravitating toward some place smaller and more accessible. One of my acquaintances said, "You should come and hear my teacher."

The practice setting was nearby, there were people I knew, so I went. The teacher spoke incredibly clearly, was very skilled at hearing people's dilemmas and finding down-to-earth metaphors for relating them to Zen teachings. The other center felt "heady," kind of competitive and hierarchical. Here was this setting, with just the most simple, bare bones sitting and then conversation rather than a talk.

I had a very good 4 or 5 years with this teacher, but some things disturbed me. This teacher did not have a teacher and, I later heard rumors, had never been ordained. The teacher seemed to have inherited the view that people couldn't do both spiritual training and psychotherapy. Another meditation teacher used to come and offer trainings together with my teacher. There seemed to be a mutual mentoring between them, which eased my concern about the teacher being outside a feedback loop. I became aware at some point that this person had disappeared from the scene. There had been a split between the two, and later I heard that there were legal problems.

When newcomers asked about the teacher's lineage, the standard response was, "Well, who in there wants to know, and why?" The way this was said, the tone, had the effect of shaming and setting up a defensiveness, plus it dismissed the student's authentic concerns about power.

There was a way the teacher seemed almost blank. In retrospect, I see it as a shieldedness, a defendedness rather

than a well-developed ability to measure self-disclosure. We were unsure of where the teacher lived, or with whom, or when or if the teacher was celibate. At the center there wasn't much interest in the larger Buddhist sangha, so my own interest in the Buddhist world did not have a place there. I continued to go to other Buddhist events but not talk about it much.

I had more trouble one on one in guidance. I had decided to confront a former authority figure about some sexual boundary issues involving my friends and dual roles affecting me directly. It had taken me 14 years to get a voice about it. Initially the teacher had been compassionate with me, then the empathic stance began to change. In the group, the teacher began putting a lot of emphasis on looking at the dualism of the victim/perpetrator, how we betray ourselves. There was a growing zealousness in looking at how we could all be perpetrators. I had gotten to a good place about finally speaking out about my prior situation when the teacher said, "This person didn't get it the first time around, why are they going to get it now? Why do you need to do this?" This might have been a good question, but there was something a bit harsh or defensive in the tone. Simultaneously, I was unearthing all these family secrets and working on a piece of art about that. The teacher said, "Isn't this an awful lot of focus on the past?" Which, again, could be an appropriate response, but it felt like the teacher didn't want to hear it, that

there was something in the content of it that was no longer tolerable to her. I wrote in my journal, "sometimes I think this person is a protector, other times a perpetrator!"

The teacher began pushing me about the side of me that would have wanted to sleep with my former authority figure. What would I have gotten from that? That's sort of useful, but in this context it wasn't the right time. The teacher's workshops on inner child work and self-hate picked up. The group think and psychobabble in our group got more and more intense. Highly functioning professionals in the sangha were regressing at these workshops, not becoming more self-caring; there was a growing dependence on the teacher. I was becoming increasingly dissatisfied.

I began to talk to the teacher about it privately. I said, "I'm finding that in guidance I'm telling you what you want to hear. I've learned this way of talking, but then I feel like so much else of me is not in the room. I'm concerned about this dynamic, and I don't think you want it either." The teacher would only deal with it as projection. There was no way to resolve difficulties with the teacher. Everything was a projection. At one point I asked, "Would you talk about x, y, or z?", and the answer was, "No!" And I said, "Why not?", and the teacher said, "Because I'm the teacher and I said so. There is a reason why I'm the teacher and you're not." I was floored, speechless.

Basically the teacher had told us experience was the foremost teacher--"if you meet the Buddha on the road, kill him," right? I said something like that in response. The teacher's face got red. There was a little more electricity. "I want you to go into the other room and make a list of everything you're thinking of me right now and own it!" It was said with a lot of vehemence and anger. The teacher was furious. In that moment I was perceiving the end of our relationship, feeling very sad and guilty that I felt the teacher was limited. I was hooked enough into the Zen rap to feel guilty, like, "I am so hungry for an idealizable self-object that I want the teacher to be perfect." Turning it in on myself, I couldn't stop obsessing about the teacher's behavior, and yet I would feel like I was being critical, selfish, judgmental. I began to feel bad about myself, like I was just this very negative person, this naysayer, this heretic, this person with ingratitude to the teacher. I started to feel angry at the group because nobody would bring up anything controversial. It seemed nobody was struggling openly with the precepts. People were hiding so much.

Guidance was painful and difficult. I went through an incredible time with self-doubt. At the same time I envied other members their apparent satisfaction and good standing with the teacher. It took me 2 more years to leave. I spent several years really beating myself up quite badly, feeling like a bad Zen student, feeling ashamed and, "What was the

matter with me and was I such an immature person that I couldn't be a proper Zen student?" Was there some crazy wisdom to this? I knew there was something to learn here. I would go around and around. I'm going to fry in Buddhist hell. Am I going to be in deep duhkha because I'm talking in this interview, breaking a kind of secrecy? Do I tell or don't I? And tell what? The actual injurious events seem so small. In a way, they were, but with no relational process to work them through, they felt huge. I went a few years feeling like I didn't know where I wanted to practice next. I felt suspect of anybody who wanted to be a spiritual teacher.

What I have since found out, is that about the time the teacher's attitude toward my confronting my previous authority figure changed, the teacher had gotten sexually involved with a member of our sangha. Other things also surfaced.

The whole thing forced me to watch my process of self-doubt. There's some way I couldn't trust my own experience, yet in my journal entries, it's all right there. My recorded dreams showed exactly what was going on. One of the most healing things was when another sangha member told me what had happened to her, because it ended the self-doubt.

I went to therapy, began a Buddhist painting class, and took a pilgrimage trip to Tibet with my partner. I talked to another teacher a lot about all this. But the experience has certainly impeded my relationship with this new teacher in that I still have this kind of wariness. I don't know if this

new person is my teacher. I have a Westerner's confusion about defiling the dharma, being ungrateful to the teacher. A piece of me feels it's a betrayal on my part not to confront my previous teacher directly. Am I being a co-conspirator by remaining silent, you know, by allowing harm to maybe happen to somebody else?

I must interject here the response Chris had to being asked how she would feel if I were to leave her story out of the research. Her immediate response on the phone was to be accommodating and say it was "okay." But indeed, she got in touch with some "healthy anger" that her story was not "big enough" or "well enough told" to qualify. Maybe her story paled in comparison? Chris goes on to talk in her response about empathic breaches in relationship in much the same way Peter Rutter describes them in therapeutic relationships, as mentioned in the Literature Review. Empathic breaches, or interruption of process, is a topic which will appear in the discussion section and Chris has lent it some fine arguments.

When this flower arrangement was done, I wondered how it reminded me of Chris and our interview. I began by buying sunflowers and felt they were somehow just right. Then I chose a long, flat container. After the arrangement was completed, the Ikebana sensei commented that she had wondered how on earth I would be able to make an arrangement of those

heavy flowers and balance them in that narrow container. (Much like wondering if this story would "fit" in my research!) She was surprised at my "success" in fixing the positions of the stems. Then I realized that the flowers were heavy like the subject material of betrayals, but Chris put a bright face on it, looking always to find a balance between the light and the dark. The flowers are bright and weighty, the container slender and black. The flower itself has a dark center with a big yellow halo. The arrangement, against all odds, stood solid and firm. Perhaps that says something about Chris' experience and the way she has worked with it. Perhaps it says something about the fact that it does fit solidly into this project.



PAT

"The Unwieldy Interview"

At first Pat had his doubts about "betrayal," whether what he had experienced was actually betrayal, and whether he fit into the research study. We had two lengthy conversations on the phone, and then he agreed to join the project. We arranged to meet at his place for the usual 2-hour interview.

When I arrived at his home, he was at the dining room table finishing a late breakfast. We discussed where we might do the interview, checking the outside terrace, which proved too loud, and finally settling on the living room. I had assured him on the phone we would be done by noon, but it must have been close to two thirty when we were finally through, leaving him only the remains of his Saturday afternoon. Halfway through the interview the tape had begun to drag. After a number of attempts to fix it, I decided to run into town and buy new batteries. This set us back a good bit, but it fixed the problem.

Also, Pat likes to wander in his telling. (The reader can tell by the introduction to his story that I, too, get into this mode by osmosis!) This and his quirky sense of humor made for an interesting, but rather long interview. He saved us both, mid-way through, with an offering of delicious chocolate cake, which revitalized us enough to complete the interview. Pat's experience was with an American male teacher. This was his second teacher, but nonetheless he was

still young in years and in the practice at the time of this story. It has been over 10 years since his experience, yet he recaptures it well.

Gee, now that I think about it, maybe the betrayal was much bigger than I thought.... Roshi expected a certain kind of behavior; was concerned about "looking good." Because that wasn't possible, we spent a lot of time not being good enough. A good student didn't have emotions, especially negative emotions. At one time I was told, "You're not happy enough, not buoyant enough. If you can't just be cheerful, you don't need to be my assistant." Roshi would talk about Japan. There, if the teacher asks something, you say, "Yes!" You do what you're told. This is Zen, to give up yourself and do what they say. We were in quite the bind trying to be idealized, cheerful, non-emotional, energetic, enthusiastic Zen persons who showed up for everything. That's not possible if you're acknowledging your actual feelings.

Roshi practiced and followed the schedule only when it fit in with the rest of his life, but students who were not in accord with the "program" were criticized and isolated. In a sense, these things were a betrayal all along. The spirit of practice was missing.

I hadn't graduated from college, I was less than 30 years old, when I became head of this Zen organization with a multi-million dollar budget. I knew nothing about accounting! One

could experience that as a kind of betrayal. You were just to perform the job. Roshi was not supportive or helpful. There was always the difficulty of engaging him in what you were doing, but if you did something that didn't meet his approval, the response was, "What's wrong with you?" I could never tell the difference between what needed to be checked out with him and what didn't, because it kept changing. I could spend hours waiting to see him. So that was my difficulty, even at that level--just getting to see Roshi.

During one sesshin I was strongly experiencing some Jhyana states. I reported this in dokusan and Roshi's reply was, "Can you shoot energy up your spine?" I wasn't given any instruction about practice in that context, no explanation of what was happening. Roshi's comment negated, tossed out, my experience. The reply wasn't helpful for my meditation or the direction of my practice at that time. Teachers will usually give you some kind of advice. I don't think Roshi was a Zen teacher who helped you to meet the teacher in you, or empowered you to be you. It was more like, "However good you are doing, you are falling short of what you could be doing." You were asked to be the person he wanted you to be, really to betray yourself in order to please him. Today, I also see this as a kind of betrayal.

Then my marriage fell apart. My partner was having an affair with someone else at the center. Roshi forbade me to talk about the situation. I spent 2 years not talking to my

friends at the center and trying to go on like normal, hiding the reality of my life. I expected Roshi would help resolve the difficulties since I was not going to be talking with anybody else. That never happened. Once he sat all three of us down and said, "The three of you better figure out how to get along and not be at each other's throats." In retrospect I realize Roshi's stand was, "You're not going to talk about that, just as I'm not going to talk about the affairs I'm having, even though I'm married." At some point I got a divorce. I gradually dropped all the executive positions I had held at the center.

Then I was sent to assist another teacher. It was a kind of exile. It was very different there. Things were inclusive and I was required to participate. At Roshi's the instructions were, "When you're my assistant, you are me, you are not yourself. If somebody comes to my door, greet them, invite them in, but, even if you know them, you do not talk to them as you." At the new place I was morose, upset, moody. I felt quite sad and very lonely, isolated, alienated. I felt like a failure because I hadn't been able to manage the positions that I had been given, the responsibilities I'd had, and my marriage had fallen apart. When Roshi came to visit, we met and I told him, "I feel intimidated by you." The reply was, "Well, you're the only one who has that problem, so it must be your problem. It couldn't be anything I'm doing." He then belittled me for having my hand in front of my face and

being fearful. It took me 4 more years to get up the nerve to say, "I don't think I'm the only one at the center who has this problem." Roshi's reply? "I meant, you're the only one of the *senior* people who has this problem."

That talk was a turning point. I began to think, "How is it that this person is abbot of the center? What am I going to do as a Zen student? Do I still want to meditate? It was important for me that I had studied with a good teacher for 6 years before Roshi. I had something to fall back on. I began to distance myself from Roshi. I was his assistant for about 7 months, but I didn't find it especially good training. Roshi left on a trip. We had an exchange on the phone and I was told not be such a baby. At that point I thought, "I'm out of here!" The next day I went to work at one of the center's businesses. When Roshi returned, I said I was not planning to continue as his assistant. From then on, he refused to talk to me, or to acknowledge my presence, even when introducing the person standing next to me. That was considered good Zen teaching--and still I went to dokusan!

Meanwhile, the center was getting royalties from my work. Several hundred thousand dollars. I moved across the street from the center into a very run-down apartment owned by the center. The center said it could not afford to paint the whole apartment. Over $70,000 of the center's money had gone for extravagant appointments while remodeling Roshi's apartment. Confronting him, I said, "I don't understand how

the center can afford $70,000 to remodel your apartment and can't afford $700 to just paint mine. How can the Zen center be that kind of organization?" Roshi said, "Oh, we're in the same boat." My mouth dropped open and I said, "The same boat?" "Yes. You can't get your apartment done. I can't get my apartment done." Then, "The center wants to treat me this way. Maybe sometime, the center will want to treat you this way, too."

And I was still trying to please Roshi! A good example is a relationship I had. Roshi said, "I don't see why you're with that person." And I thought, okay, I won't be with that person anymore. Then later Roshi said, "Why can't you have a nice person like so-and-so in your life?" So I got back together with that person. Then later he said, "You two are never going to get along." So I dumped that person again. It was humiliating, embarrassing, to have had a relationship, so much of which had been dictated by Roshi and so little of which had to do with what I actually felt. I let Roshi do that.

Then, after Roshi had left our center as the result of a difficult scandal, one day in the meditation hall, I thought, "Why don't I just attend to what's here and what's inside without judgment and with kindness and warm regard?" And right away the tears just started pouring down my face. That was 18 years after I started practicing Zen. I decided to stop trying to be a Zen person and just feel what was going

on. That was the beginning of a whole different direction of practice for me, and a whole different direction for my life. That was basically the beginning of a 12 year mid-life crisis.

After this, I studied with another teacher and received dharma transmission. I was still confused about what a Zen teacher is, because Roshi's model was, "You have questions, I have answers." And I didn't have answers. It took me a while to realize, "That's good! I'm the teacher. I can tell people to have confidence in finding the way without the answers." Roshi modeled how not to be responsible for anything and to make everything everybody else's responsibility. I felt disenamored of being a Zen teacher, and thought, "As soon as you're a Zen teacher, Roshi's going to be criticizing or questioning you, or somebody out there is." I feel better about it now, but at the same time I still can get discouraged by people's harsh judgments.

I've had to build up my trust again. My trust was very fragile for a long time. It has to do with trusting your own sensibility. What can you trust, finally? You learn to trust as much as you can trust given the things that have happened.

I'm not sure what I've come to with all this. I feel like I've let go of a lot of it. My life continues to be rather difficult, but I don't know that it's much to do with any of this stuff.

One of the mistakes our culture seems to make, is believing that there is some way of thinking or behaving where

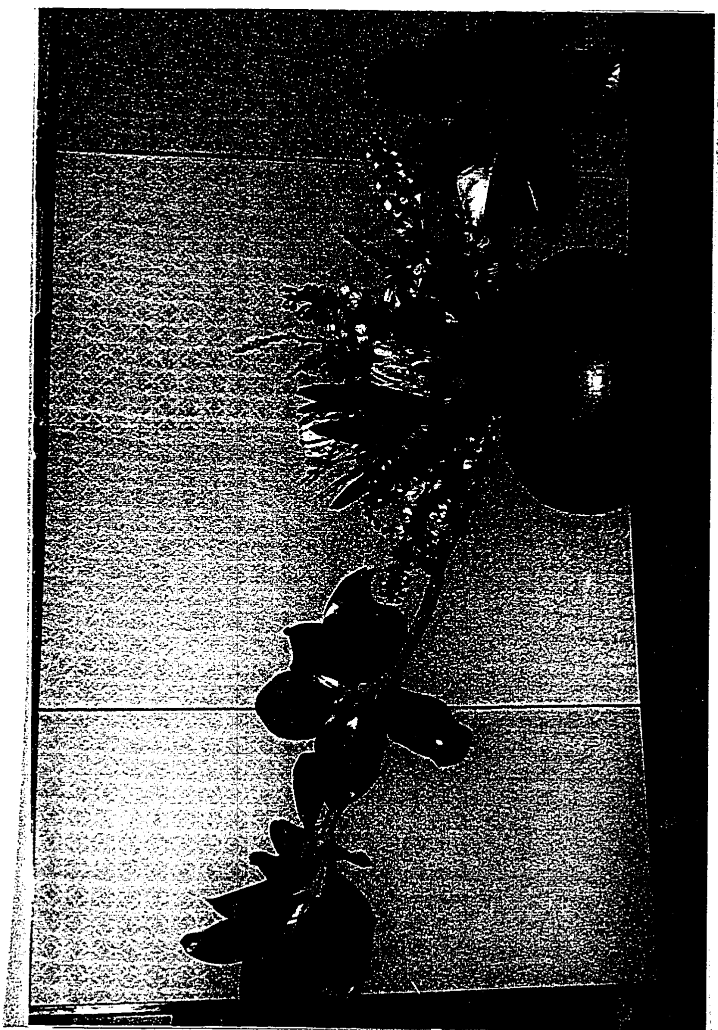
you wouldn't have to have betrayal (or abandonment, fear, helplessness). It's part of the victim mentality, that you shouldn't have to have these various problems. There seems to be something in betrayal where you're picking somebody to be in relationship with for a not-such-good reason, or even in order to be betrayed. You're thrown back into learning how to trust yourself even though you are not perfect. Suzuki Roshi once said, "There are plenty of good teachers around. There are not very many good students."

Making Pat's arrangement was one of the most frustrating and humorous experiences I have had in Ikebana. It turned out to be the largest of the eight; the interview with Pat was the longest (biggest). A day or two after the interview I bought a bunch of magnolia branches. They were quite large, so I chose my one large container. After that, I accompanied my Ikebana instructor to the wholesale flower warehouse. Although I usually use only one or two types of flowers per arrangement, for some reason I chose several kinds of flowers and some red maple leaves.

Back at the studio I tried to secure the branches in the vase. They kept popping out. Finally the instructor came to my assistance. Even she had a terrible time fastening them. As I then placed the large flowers, they, too, would not stay positioned. I had to hold them in place while struggling to fix the other stems around them to keep them in the jar. When

things were finally "quiet," I added all the remaining flowers, making a large fan of multi-nuanced pink, red and lavender. I ended up laughing with Sensei at this very busy, lively arrangement.

The arranging process was very like the process of the interview and the endeavor to cull a concise story from the transcript. Things had a mind of their own, threatening to "run over" or "fall out." Unconventional, but good "Free Style"! In the end, the unwieldy, but pleasing, finished product would not go into the car and had to be placed in the trunk with the lid open but secured. I guess the lid was open on our interview, too, but we managed to "tie it down!"



ROBBY

"My Illness Wasn't Real"

Robby has a very gentle, soft-spoken, yet matter-of-fact manner. She had looked over the interview focus letter and contemplated what she wanted to say. She talked without my prodding and covered all of the important points for the research. She was easy to speak with. Robby is a well-educated professional, a physician and teacher. She readily admits to having a traumatic childhood, but seems to have no chip on her shoulder about it. Robby thought what she had "suffered" at the hands of her teacher did not qualify as abusive or as a betrayal, but then realized she had gotten a letter about my research--so her new teacher thought she certainly qualified. It occurred to her that maybe she did have something to say.

We met in Robby's living room, which was light and comfortable. After a while we moved out to the terrace and continued the interview in the sunshine. It has been 5 years since Robby's experience with her teacher, a woman and Robby's first Zen teacher, and it felt to me as though Robby were trying to be even-handed and compassionate in relating her story. She was extremely low-key. It is noteworthy that the three interviewees who had experienced betrayal with this same teacher all gave extraordinarily low-key interviews. An element of uneasiness, if not fear, seemed to hover over the interviews--a reluctance to share responsibility with the

teacher, as if each interviewee needed to "own" the whole situation.

As a result of the interviews I was doing, these interviewees had begun to open up and to share with those who, they felt, might understand. When Robby connected with others in her sangha, including the two other interviewees, she found out more about her teacher's behavior, and that encouraged her to make me an extra tape about her reactions to the new information. There is more about that tape at the conclusion of her story. Here is the story in her own words.

My first reaction to your research was, "What happened to me wasn't bad enough to qualify for anything." What comes up for me around wanting to even talk about my experience is some self-blame: somehow this is probably all my fault anyway.

I was new to Zen; this was my first Buddhist teacher. I had this profound reaction to the teacher's personality and sort of secondly to what was being said. Study with this teacher forbade you to see any other teachers. I was even told not to read Buddhist material unless it was okayed; the teacher was the final word on all aspects of Buddhism. As a result, I wouldn't tell her what I was reading.

For me, the main betrayal is that much of what was being taught was backwards to what I now understand to be Buddhism. You needed to give up what you thought personally, the teacher would basically take over the decision making. Good Zen

students didn't challenge their teacher. Our teacher was isolated personally from other Buddhist teachers, and then isolated all of us. There were a lot of rules about not being able to talk to each other; we were constantly breaking these rules because we all became very good friends. It was a crazy-making, very closed system. You followed orders.

If you challenged anything, she would fly into a rage. If you didn't believe, you were ostracized and kicked out. We never questioned why people left. They left because "they couldn't take the heat of spiritual training." They had given up the chance of a lifetime to follow this teacher, who was convinced, "I'm the only teacher. I've got it." I believed this for years, though part of me questioned it from day one. Later, I learned that this person had never been ordained as a teacher. This was explained as, "Good Zen students don't care about lineage, they care about sitting in front of a white wall."

It got tricky for me on several levels. There were hints of sexual misconduct. The teacher was allegedly celibate, but was lovers with a student in the group. That was a "secret" everybody knew. She lied about celibacy; I thought a teacher had that right. There was a lot of sexual charge in the group. Someone would be close to the teacher, a personal favorite; then suddenly there was a mysterious falling out and the person would be kicked out of the group. No explanations. Often I wondered if something sexual was going on.

We were building a monastery. We didn't have enough money and so a lot of construction was done illegally. The buildings were not up to code. They were scamming the IRS, tax evasion stuff. The teacher was risking many people by mishandling thousands of dollars in various illegal schemes. I learned about all this only after becoming part of the "inner circle."

There were workshops and groups to spread the dharma. Large sums of money were charged for them. Books were published. The teacher was sued for pirating and plagiarizing material. People to this day don't know that material for the groups was also stolen. I always felt a little funny about participating in something that was flaunting the law. At the same time I felt, "It's for such a good cause, we are broke, and it makes sense to me." The teacher knows what is right. Part of me feels dirty, having seen, watched and wondered about it, and been a willing participant. The whole thing was demoralizing in a very private, quiet way.

We had dokusan at least once a month. The teacher knew me very well. I was debating whether to turn in a therapist who had slept with me. The teacher was very adamant privately that the therapist had really harmed me; however, in front of the group she would make comments like "Well, anybody who sleeps with a therapist or Zen teacher deserves it."

The teacher liked to belittle professionals. Not having a college degree, she was, I think, terribly jealous and

insecure around us. It was frightening to see the teacher angry. If you brought up something you didn't understand, or your feelings got hurt, you were not allowed to process any of it; you were severely chastised. The teacher said everything you saw going on had to do with your own projection. Ego was something to be controlled or eliminated, never listened to. She herself seemed the only one beyond ego, that was why you couldn't really listen to your own inner counsel because you could never trust it to not be your own ego.

I fell out of grace; the teacher became more and more mean with me. I had no idea why. Then, a few years ago, I was given a diagnosis of a life-threatening illness. My doctor told me to get ready for a wheelchair, to prepare a will; I could live perhaps another year. The teacher didn't believe in my disease, told me I was confabulating it, said that some doctor had planted this in my head, said there was nothing wrong with my body except I believed the doctors, said doctors were just doing that to make money. [The doctor was right. Robby does have a life-threatening disease, and at the moment she is doing well, living with it.] I was having a lot of difficulty dealing with the diagnosis anyway. The remarks were a spit in the face to the whole medical profession. That's my profession.

I was a serious student. Not only did I see the teacher regularly, but had made it a practice to do at least one weekend retreat every month for years. I'd taken precepts and

been told to be a teacher. But I began to know it was wrong and unhealthy to continue to hear the teacher's views on my illness. So I left the sangha and didn't tell anyone why. I was devastated when I left. I felt crazy, ripped off, totally abandoned, desperate. The rug was pulled out from under me. I took it very personally. I think it was meant personally.

I got it that the teacher somehow had kicked me out, and I had been betrayed. I was not very stable at the time, was very depressed and had been hospitalized a few times. The teacher knew that, and to just throw those remarks at me at the end of the session! It was a very dark time in my life. When you get a life-threatening illness like that, one of the reactions can be, "Goddamn it, God, Where are you?" I was going through something like that. To lose my spiritual teacher at the same time was really scary. The teacher was aware of those circumstances and did nothing to help pick up the pieces.

I made a very serious suicide attempt. I took five times the lethal dose of medication. I should have been dead. I was really trying to check out. It felt like I ended up making a choice in some kind of bardo state, "Okay, I will go back and I will finish." When I realized I was still on the planet, I decided that I needed to make spirituality work.

I felt very sad. I feel very sad about it now -- that someone couldn't have guided the teacher to get some help, and also that those who left did not ever dare check in with each

other. I didn't even tell my partner. I couldn't tell my best friends; I didn't want to interfere with their thing with their teacher. To feel so isolated with it! All these years I've continued to stay quiet; still following the rules. It would have helped to process this with other people who had gone through the same thing.

The sangha was the first place I ever started disclosing my spiritual wishes and aspirations and talking out loud about them. It was really powerful for me to do that. To have that blown out of the water was a big loss.

Now I have a new teacher and every time I go to the new center, I'm terrified of breaking some rule and being thrown out. It's not been easy to trust this new teacher. There's this little feeling in me, this little doubt, "Do you trust yourself to make the right choice or not? You screwed up with a therapist, you screwed up with a Zen teacher." Every little thing the new teacher does, I take personally. I have to check it out.

I feel like my feet are on the ground now. I never abandoned my practice, which would have been the biggest loss. I'm eclectic now in my approach to Buddhism, my practice is much richer. I don't feel this painful experience was all a loss. I certainly did a lot of spiritual growth despite it. There was a lot of undoing to do, but which pieces to undo?

This new teacher keeps pushing me to trust my own experience, then go back and trust myself even further. I'm

this far along without having had a whole lot of validation from other people. I am also aware of how much I wanted to find a personal savior rather than do my own work. I don't want that any more. You've got to take every step yourself, no one can do it for you, and no one can tell you how to do it. I'm a physician and a teacher at the university level. I know I wield a lot of power over patients and students, whether or not I think I do. My experience has made me very mindful and I try not to ignore the fact that I'm powerful.

I don't want revenge. I do want the teacher stopped from harming others. I don't feel responsible for the teacher, but feel somewhat responsible for friends still involved there. I guess how I feel is, I don't know what's best for anybody else. I don't want to mess with anybody else's karma.

One of the ways you figure out if teachers are good is by running into a few who aren't. This points to a fundamental problem in the Buddhist community: we can't just meditate our way into nirvana and screw all of these simple little precepts. Even teachers can't afford to toss out any of it.

It is worth noting that at this point I managed to erase the tape Robby sent to me about her reactions to the experiences of others in the sangha who had also been harmed. I had to call and ask her how she felt about the fact that I had "lost" the information? Was there something there that maybe did not "want" to be in the research? Robby responded

by telling me again what she had put on the tape, and I had remembered most of it from listening to the tape when it first arrived. She mentioned that upon hearing some other stories she became quite angry at me, thinking that I had interviewed her knowing much more about the happenings in her sangha than she did. She had felt overwhelmed with shame contemplating that. Then she realized that her anger was being misdirected, and if I had known more than she, it would not have been appropriate in this context to have revealed that to her. At that point, Robby wished that she could re-do her story, not only because of the wave of reaction she had had in hearing the other experiences, but also because she had gotten a new perspective on her original interview by talking to her new teacher. It was then she realized how "watered down" she had presented her story, still using her old teacher as an "editor." Hearing others did much to validate and confirm her own perceptions and experience.

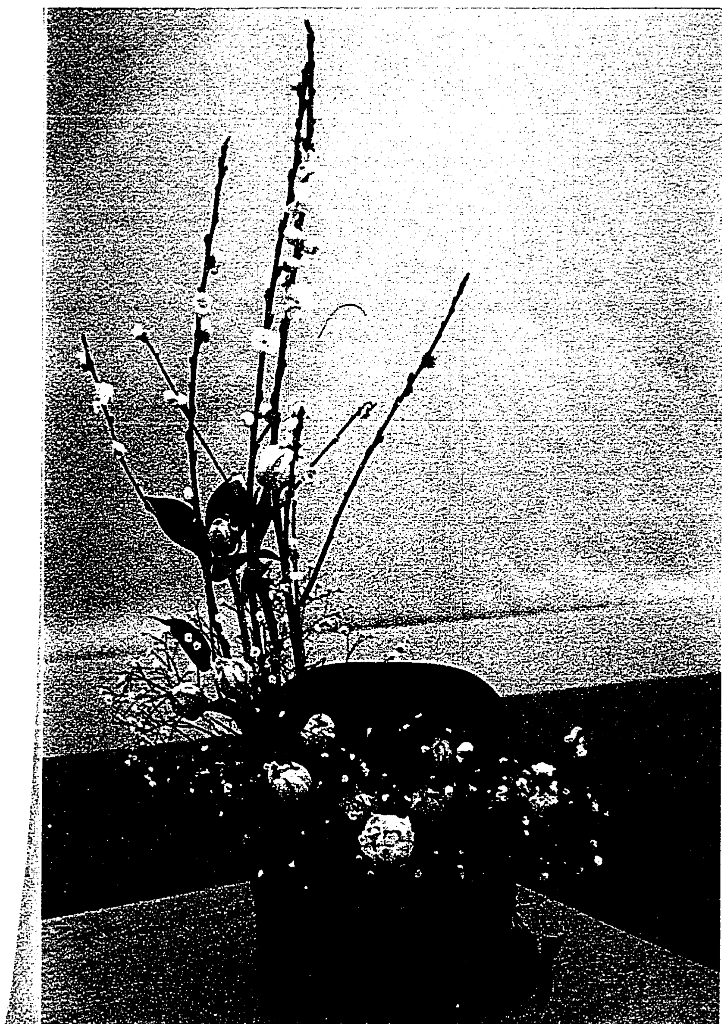
This particular arrangement is an interesting study of the interplay between sturdy and delicate. The container is an old Chinese wedding box, with a plastic insert. It has some cracks and one of the legs is chipped, but it is of solid wooden construction, no nails or metal clamps. The plum branches are sturdy and straight, yet the flowers are pure white and delicate. The filled, white tulips bloom heavy on their slender stems, so they tend to lean and droop as they

get bigger and bigger. Of course the baby's breath is fragile, yet it is a sturdy little plant that survives tough winters--as does the tulip. I feel Robby's sturdy body has some chips and cracks, but it houses a lovely, sensitive soul.

I did not realize until after the arrangement was complete, the interesting dance between these two qualities which had also struck me during the interview. So the Ikebana validated what I had sensed earlier. Notice, yet again, the choice of white flowers. I had not noticed this myself until I began writing about making the arrangements. The process of putting this Ikebana together was rather stressful and reminded me later of the stressful ride to Robby's interview.

That was an eventful train ride resulting in a late arrival at the station, where I found myself stranded without a taxi for quite a while. It was a very hot day. By the time the cab stopped in front of the apartment building, I had wilted. The numbers on the buildings were so confusing that I had to call Robby on the cab driver's phone to find out which door to enter. Inside there was a labyrinth of hallways. A very nice man led me almost to the door of where I needed to go.

This Ikebana was actually made at a flower show and the complications of getting there, finding a spot on the show tables, getting the flowers I had ordered, and arranging them in a hall filled with people yelling and bumping the table, felt as chaotic as getting to the interview.



CHAPTER 6

RESULTS/FINDINGS

How do we actualize the oneness of all beings?
Through responsibility, the ability to respond.
Robert Aitken (1984, p. 136)

Results From the Stories

First I present the findings from the interviews. Although the stories are already condensations of these, I went back to the original interviews when searching for words and phrases used in the mapping procedure already described. Three areas of focus were covered in the interviews: first, the betrayal story itself, which covered the practice atmosphere: descriptions of the teacher, the student, sangha atmosphere, and the teacher/student relationship; second, the "aftermath," or what happened with the student as a result of this wounding in the teacher/student relationship; and third, how/whether students have healed. Have they been able to make sense of or come to understand their betrayal; have they learned anything? In each of these three areas, the descriptive words and phrases used by the interviewees fell into six self-identifying categories: six for the first area of focus, six for the second, and six for the third area. Let us look carefully at each of these three areas and what is revealed about them.

A reminder to the reader: three of the stories describe the same teacher. Two other participants share experiences

with another teacher in common. Still another two participants had experiences with more than one teacher.

The Betrayal Experience,Surrounding Circumstances, Atmosphere

In the stories, descriptions of the betrayal itself revealed the following foci: nature of the identified betrayal (did interviewees agree with the name "betrayal"); descriptors about the students themselves (inner landscape: commitment, vulnerability, etc.); descriptors about the atmosphere in the sangha (problems with isolation, communication, fear, secrecy, etc. in the practice community); perceptions about teachers (how interviewees perceived their teachers as the teachers dealt with the students' feelings); turning points, or ignored intuitive "hits"; and comments about leaving the teacher/sangha (the difficulties in leaving, the experience of silence, and isolation around departure.) These foci are now presented in detail.

Betrayal: Yes or No, and What Is It?? Of the eight participants, five had initial doubts about whether their experience qualified as a betrayal at all. "Why does the word betrayal not feel....It doesn't feel like what happened." "What happened to me wasn't bad enough to qualify...." "I think there's something betraying in the experience I had, but I'm not sure exactly." Almost all interviewees expressed their doubts to me in phone conversations before the interview proper and some mentioned their hesitancy about the word betrayal again in the interview. However, once into the

telling, they revealed quite spontaneously what they felt was the betrayal or the "main" betrayal, without even being asked. Three people declared that the main betrayal was that the teacher had not had the students' best interests at heart, placing their own needs or the interests of the center above the students'. They had not been seen as individuals. One person felt the teacher was not teaching Buddhism, another felt the teacher denied the responsibility and power that came with her role as teacher. The interviewee described that role as archetypal, a word used by other interviewees and participants in the Resonance Group to describe the role of teachers. Additional views were that the teacher did not empower the student, "asked you to betray yourself to please him," "there was a kind of spirit-breaking." For five people there was the sense that "it wasn't a particular event," and "betrayal occurred long before the incident itself" or that it was on-going in that "the spirit of practice was missing."

Student Commitment, Idealization, Denigration. Of the eight people in the study, all were totally committed, even devoted to their zazen practice. Three lived at the centers where they practiced. A fourth became a Buddhist nun. Two people moved from far away in order to be closer to their practice place or to live in community there. Four interviewees later became teachers themselves. All made comments such as, "I was a very serious student, I bought the whole thing"; "my main thing was being involved at the

center"; "I was inspired by Zen practice, it spoke to me more than anything in my life"; "I fell in love with the dharma"; "when you're serious you fall in love with the whole bag, the teacher, the practice, the whole thing"; or "I was committed hook, line, and sinker, my whole life...." Everyone's life was wrapped up in the life of the center, the sangha, and the practice, even if they had a professional job outside of the center. They "dedicated their life," or felt that "my personal life was totally the zendo." They all had a daily practice and participated regularly in sesshins, and all had taken the precepts.

Some participants were otherwise "vulnerable" to varying degrees at the time of experiencing betrayal. One had moved with a whole family to be at the center. Three had marriages fall apart in the run of their practice, and three admitted to having had difficult childhoods. One was additionally vulnerable as a nun whose "boss" was the teacher and she had just come off a 1,000 day commitment. One participant was dependent on the teacher while setting up a new practice place, and one was vulnerable because of physical illness. Three admitted to being new to Buddhism, and two to being emotionally innocent or naive.

Three of the co-researchers, looking back, said they were "hungry for an idealized self-object." "I entrusted myself to the teacher lock, stock, and barrel." "It never occurred to me that Roshi was partly at fault." One person said the Roshi

was "a giant," that he was set up as infallible and enlightened. Three interviewees mentioned expressly that they had been trying to be good (idealized) Zen students or trying to please the teacher, while three others implied that attitude without specifically naming it. "I didn't want to be labeled as a person not serious about Zen." "I was trying to be this good Zen person." "There we were sitting our hearts out, trying to be good Zen students." "A Zen student should be cheerful, non-emotional, energetic, enthusiastic."

Six co-researchers described what happened to their feelings about themselves while practicing with their teachers. "Everyone was getting more self-critical and depressed." "I was trying to be a good Buddhist student, but I felt I was failing at every moment." "I spent a lot of time not being good enough." "I felt I was a terrible Zen person." Participants felt "wrong," "inadequate," "discouraged" about self and practice, "humiliated," "trashed," "powerless," "having no authority," and/or "self-deprecation." Six of the eight felt a profound, long-term self-rejection in the practice. However, two participants did not relay these kinds of experiences.

General Practice Atmosphere. The over-riding themes that crystallized out of the interviews about the atmosphere in these sanghas were those of isolation, fear, arbitrary and abusive teacher behavior, zazen holds "the" Truth, secrecy,

the ego as enemy, and a distinct lack of communication. Several other themes also surfaced, as below.

Five participants described a sense of profound isolation concerning both themselves and the sangha. "Nobody would help me." "People were isolated and sent into exile for not running conform." "We were forbidden to see other teachers." "There was no socializing among students." "It never would have occurred to me to talk about it with anyone in the sangha." "There was no interest in fitting in with the larger Buddhist community." "I did not find close friends in the sangha."

Seven participants expressed fear in some form or another. This had much to do with teachers' perceived arbitrary abusive behaviors. "There were threats of expulsion from the sangha." "I was afraid of him." "I couldn't stand up to him." "You never knew what the teacher would do, so you walked on eggs." "I was intimidated."

Some of the abusive behaviors mentioned include "trashing and humiliating" students both privately and in front of others, with five students reporting these incidents occurring to themselves and to others. Other comments follow. "Students were never praised." "Teacher was rash and attacked students verbally." "He shouted at me in that huge 'Zen' voice." "People were thrown out on a whim." "The teacher hit me over the head with a sledge hammer for my opinions at meetings."

In several sanghas zazen was held up as the answer to everything. For example, six people reported the pervasive sangha belief that if you needed therapy there was something wrong with you, you were not practicing properly. An air of secrecy was reported by four people, but might be surmised in all sanghas by the fact that the other four people were taken by surprise when harmful behaviors in their sanghas surfaced. "Everything was secret." "There were 'no-no' questions." "People were hiding so much, never admitting personal struggles." We were "hiding the reality of life."

The view of ego as enemy caused four people distress. "The ego was an enemy to be dismembered." There seemed to be a curious mix of denigrating the ego, yet demanding a specific kind of ego that fit the label of a Zen person. So students went about hiding their real feelings about almost everything, putting on a "good appearance" while feeling all the while worse and worse about themselves. This phenomenon was reported by five people.

It is curious how all of these things are so thickly interrelated. The next commonalty that surfaced was the lack of communication between student and teacher. Six of the eight interviewees said that they could not "talk" with their teachers. "We had never had good communication. We never talked about what was going on in practice." "Dokusan was never about me." "I couldn't talk with the teacher. I couldn't say what I wanted." Dokusans were very limited for

people in such intense practice--"once a month"; perhaps "once or twice" a year. Nonetheless, five students were required to "give yourself up, do what you're told." "You were to give up your thoughts and decisions to the teacher."

Students reported that their sanghas were "closed," "incestuous," or that the sangha was "an alcoholic family." "We side-stepped the precepts." "We interpreted the precepts in the very broadest sense." In all sanghas involved, the teacher appeared to have little or no peer feedback.

General Perceptions about the Teachers. The most common experience students had with teachers when they confronted teachers with the issue that felt betraying, was the teacher's rage or anger. The teacher "got snarly, became a vicious animal." "Roshi went ballistic, he turned on me in a rage." "The teacher would get furious, angry, vehement." "The teacher flew into a rage, it was frightening to see the teacher angry." Three people mentioned that teachers were afraid of students' wrath.

Several (4) interviewees talked about teachers who felt that they themselves were the only ones who "had it." "The teacher maintained he was the only one beyond ego." "The teacher said, "I've got it... and you don't." "The zendo set Roshi up as enlightened and infallible." The teacher said, "You don't have connection to the Divine, but I do." The teacher said, "You have questions, I have the answers." "The

Truth was what my teacher told me." "The teacher was Buddhism." "He said he always acted out of pure motives."

Teachers also refused to process issues with four students or turned them back onto the students, saying they were projections. In four cases students were ignored and not spoken to by teachers. "She refused to process anything, everything was projection." "The teacher only dealt with it as my projection." "Every problem was your problem or a problem with your practice." "He had an answer for everything. Everything was your problem." "The teacher stopped speaking to me." "He ignored me, refused to acknowledge my presence."

In addition, four spoke of their teacher being charismatic, having personal magnetism and a lot of energy. Two spoke of teachers not taking responsibility for their power and their actions. In at least six cases, the teachers appeared to have no teachers of their own. Other things noticed about teachers included: teachers putting themselves first or satisfying unmet needs (3), those who belittled, negated, distanced themselves from students, did not empower or support, did things deliberately (3), manipulated (2), were seldom seen practicing (2).

Every single teacher, when confronted, denied that s/he had done anything, let alone anything harmful. Every interviewee, in their own way, at some point confronted the teacher about their relationship. In all cases they were met

with excuses or denial, were blamed, shouted at, ignored, forbidden to talk about it, told it was projection. "He said it didn't happen." "He had an explanation for everything." "He refused to talk to me. I didn't exist." "He screamed at me." "She would not respond to me." "She told me to go into the other room ... and own my projections."

Turning Points or Ignored Intuitive Hits. Interestingly, long before the betrayal experience, five interviewees mention intuitive turning points or intuitive "hits" that something was amiss in the sangha/with the teacher. Rumors of misuse of sex, illegalities, and transmission difficulties were noticed and often acknowledged with acceptance because the teacher "knows best," because the cause was just, or because the teacher did valuable other work,--such as talks, workshops, etc.. Dreams, journal entries, and plain common sense were over-ruled because students felt teachers would only do "good" or the "right" thing. "I was very innocent, but I felt something was wrong." "I felt a little funny participating in illegalities." I wrote in my journal "the teacher is either a protector or a perpetrator." For some (3), an intuitive "hit" finally galvanized them into action although they had ignored previous intuitions; the others chose to ignore the hits altogether or to rationalize them.

Leaving the Sangha/Teacher. Five participants simply left the sangha, never explained why they were leaving, and never talked to anyone in the sangha about what happened.

"Everybody left silently. I didn't explain why I left." "I just stopped going." "It took me 2 years to leave. I never said why I was leaving." "I just disappeared very quietly from the sangha." "I just slithered away." Two alluded to patterns similar to those which many battered women mention in remarks about leaving their abusive situations. "If I left, I was being weak in my practice, showing myself to be weak." "If I left, it would be because I was a failure there." Three interviewees never left their sanghas; their teachers left instead. One of those three moved away, and later began to teach, but never "left" the sangha. A single interviewee, betrayed in two successive sanghas, left the first, but never left the second because the teacher died before the two might have reconciled.

Aftermath of the Betrayal

As with the commonalties in the stories of the betrayal experience itself, there were common themes woven into the descriptions of lives after the experience. Six clusters of descriptors became evident: felt descriptions of the event (descriptors of bodily feelings); feelings of confusion (psychologically and in Zen practice); feelings of isolation and withdrawal, and suicidal attempts or ideation; affects of the experience on fear and trust (or the generation of lack of trust described by so many); the devastated inner landscape: self-esteem, self-confidence, compassion, etc.; effects on Zen practice. Find a closer look at these clusters below.

Felt Descriptions. Six interviewees had vivid, "felt" descriptions that summed up their experience. Listen to their comments. "I was a mess, the rug was pulled out from under me. Like the teacher had taken a knife and stabbed me in the heart." "It was the most painful thing I have ever, ever experienced. I was just a mess for a really long time." "It was a very painful, horrible time. It was like being slapped in the face, having acid thrown in your face." "I felt horrible for years." "I was fucked up, big time. The removal of the false footing left me in Nowheresville." "It was a death experience. I was in bad shape."

Confusion, Conflict, Disorientation. The experience left people floundering, both psychologically and in their practice. Seven interviewees had this to say: "I felt I was going crazy." "Nothing made sense. I didn't know what I felt." "I couldn't figure out the meaning of what had happened." "There was no way to figure out the craziness of his behavior." "I felt very crazy, the last blow was mind-boggling." "I had complicated, conflicted feelings." "I would go around and around. Is there some crazy wisdom here? I know there is something to learn. Confused. Conflicted."

Five participants reported confusion about their Zen practice. "Do I even want to be involved with Zen again? Is there anything of value here?" "What am I going to do as a Zen student? Do I still want to practice?" "My sense of myself as a practitioner was really shook up. I had the

feeling that the previous 12 years had been just bullshit." "I didn't know if I would ever really go on with Zen." "I went for years not knowing where I wanted to practice next."

Suicide, Isolation, and Withdrawal. The interviewees were strongly affected by their experiences. One tried to take her own life, another reported having had suicidal ideation while editing her condensed story for this research, a third interviewee said, "Without analysis, who knows what might have happened. I would have died in a car wreck or something--some suicidal attempt."

Seven interviewees mentioned terrible isolation around their experience. "I felt so isolated with it." "I didn't tell my partner or friends." "I feel totally isolated." "I would go crazy with the isolation." Along with isolation goes withdrawal, also mentioned by five interviewees and profoundly experienced by the interviewee who dropped out. I've become "self-protective. I've continued to stay quiet." "I don't go to any spiritual thing. I miss the sense of being connected with people on a spiritual path." "I couldn't go back to the monastery, so I lost the purpose of my life." "I pulled away, compartmentalized the experience. For a year, I never left the house." I was "lonely, alienated, isolated." These feelings were compounded for those participants who did not communicate their experience to others (six participants), even to their partners (at least two participants).

<u>Fear and Trust, or Fear and the Lack of Trust.</u> I have put these two clusters together because they appear to be closely intertwined. Fear seems to generate an inability to trust. Five interviewees mentioned both fear and trust issues; two mentioned trust as an issue, but did not mention fear. One interviewee mentioned neither fear nor trust.

"It was traumatic. I was frightened, as I know others are. I transferred all fear and reasonable paranoia onto other teachers." "I was afraid of him. I still felt he had power over me and could talk me into things I didn't want to do." "I thought, 'I'm paranoid.'" "I was terrified. I was afraid of him." "I was intimidated by him." The sixth person said, "I was dominated by Roshi and submissive to his world-view." For some, fear is still present, even 10 years later, as two participants mentioned it specifically. "I'm still terrified of breaking the rules." "Breaking secrecy is an ongoing issue. Am I going to be in deep duhkha for talking [in this research]?"

Here are the corresponding remarks about trust from those five interviewees. "It is not easy to trust. I am over careful and question my ability to read people." "I feel wary of it all and suspect of anybody who wants to be a spiritual teacher." "It took me two years to decide to get married again." "I had to build up my trust again. My trust was very fragile for a long time. It's taken a long time to work up to being intimate with people." "I didn't really rely on anyone

for five years, I was so fearful people were going to interrupt my work." "I'm in a 15-year relationship and I'm still not married." "I can't get connected to people." "I've been in hiding for 30 years. It's scary to have the world right out there."

The Inner/Emotional Landscape. Interviewees named several emotions they felt when they realized what had happened to them. Anger and rage were reported by five of the six women (labeled "feminist" rage by one of them.) The men did not mention anger.

Three participants used the word depressed; two mentioned sadness, grief, or despair; one was "morose and moody." Two felt "tortured" or "tormented." Two said they were "devastated."

Robby felt, "demoralized, ripped off, betrayed and totally abandoned." Lee and one other participant still feel "a sense of guilt" and say they "obsessed" about the betrayal situation. A third person "perseverated," or obsessed, about the experience also.

Self-blame was felt by seven of the eight interviewees. "Self-blame. It's all my fault anyway. Part of me feels dirty for having participated." "I felt I was 'wrong.'" "I thought I was just this very negative person. I began to feel bad about myself and spent years beating myself up badly." "I was unhappy and disappointed in myself." "I felt like a failure." "I felt I was a terrible person." "I thought it

was me. I was all bottled up inside." "Was there a flaw in me?" "It took a long time to regain confidence."

Of the four interviewees who later became teachers, three of them had severe doubts about themselves as capable teachers. "It deeply undermined my sense of could I really teach." "For many years I felt disenamoured of being a Zen teacher. I felt Roshi would be criticizing me still. I feel better now, but I still don't know about being a Zen teacher." "It erodes my sense of confidence in myself as someone who understands the dharma."

One man described the experience as a major identity crisis, the other described it as the beginning of a mid-life crisis that went on for 12 years--is still going on? None of the women mentioned an identity crisis specifically.

On the other hand, five of the six women expressed concern for others. Neither of the men mentioned this fact. Morgan "felt very much an equal responsibility. I had done so much harm to so many people." Her concern for others was the motivation to continue to press for something to be done to stop her fellow teacher's behavior. Others said, "The only healing for me would be in the healing of the sangha." "I didn't want my friends hurt, and it's still going on." "I was concerned for several members and worried about the teacher." "I suffer more as time goes on and nothing is done about it [to protect others]."

<u>Effect on Zen Practice.</u> The experience of feeling betrayed had a devastating effect on interviewees' Zen practice. In every single case, the participant's practice was almost crushed. Only one person said she had "never abandoned" her practice. I do not know if she managed to sit on a continuum or also interrupted her practice. Even those who later became, or already were teachers, were seriously affected.

"I didn't actually do any sitting for a couple of years. I was shaken about zazen, had to build my practice all over again." "Even then I was still trying to please Roshi, was not out from under his shadow. Did I want to be involved with these kinds of people?" "It disrupted my practice very, very enormously. I haven't actually had a new teacher since this betrayal. I stopped going to zazen on a regular basis. It erodes my confidence as someone who understands the dharma." "I quit going. It ripped up the fabric of my practice, destroyed my relationship to the teacher. I wanted to change lineages. I couldn't go back to the cushion. I went for a year without sitting." "My faith was smashed. I have lost my practice in spite of my experiences in zazen. I couldn't go back to the monastery. I lost the meaning and purpose of my life." "I went for years not knowing where I wanted to practice. I felt horrible for years. I don't have much willingness to do anything with sangha. It impedes my relationship to a new teacher." "I have not been practicing

at all for two to three years. I don't meditate. I don't go to any spiritual thing. Buddhism and meditation have been tainted for me." One participant said, "I never abandoned my practice. I (still) transfer my fear onto the new teacher."

The Healing Process and Insights About the Experience

The third focus of the stories is on the process of recovering from the betrayal experiences. From the interviews, again, six areas of descriptors developed: turning points (when interviewees became aware of their plight and made a decision to "get out," and when they realized healing was beginning), helps for healing (what interviewees undertook to facilitate their own healing), insights about sanghas (about the behaviors of the practice community), insights interviewees had about themselves, insights about teachers, and insights about the experience (meaning making, what interviewees felt they had learned). Again, a closer look at these individually.

Turning Points. Four interviewees spoke about a "turning point," a moment or space of time when they recognized what was happening and began to extricate themselves from the experience. For Robby it was a moment during her suicide attempt, "I made a choice in some kind of bardo state and I decided not to return (to the teacher)." Lee recalls, "I finally saw I couldn't make it work and if there was anything left of me that was outside it all, I was going to have to make that stronger." Pat said, "I began to distance myself.

I said, 'I'm out of here, I've had enough.'" For Ariake, the moment her teacher screamed at her during a teaching session, "I knew something was terribly wrong."

Five interviewees spoke of turning points in their healing process. Morgan said, "The turning point was to have an external, objective group say, 'this is wrong.' That's what I really needed. The healing began after that." Lauren's experience was similar, "Everything blew up. Knowing all the other stuff ... was a great deal of affirmation ... was relieving to me because it supported who I understood myself to be." For Jamie, "It was like a death and there was a moment when I was able to accept the death because I had to accept the death of my husband. It just came out of the random universe." Lee, "had a moment of real realization, I saw what I was getting to and I detached from it. I began to see the teacher can't be the authority for me in all of this." "Then one day in the meditation hall I [Pat] thought, 'Why don't I just attend to what's here without judgment and with kindness and warm regard?' Immediately the tears began rolling down my face."

The interviewee who dropped from the study summed up what I believe must have happened for all the interviewees at some point, so I am including her observation this once. "I saw what needed to be done and, by the grace of God, I trusted myself." There seemed to be a moment of self truth/belief and self trust that enabled each interviewee to "break away."

Helps for Healing. The helping mediums varied for different interviewees. Seven people had support from therapists or used long-term therapy in their healing process. The eighth person had tried therapy for a short period and did not find it helpful. Four of the original nine either were or became therapists themselves.

Three people found new teachers, two others managed to remember the solid teachings from previous teachers. Five people found new partners during the time they were "recovering." Parents, mentors, siblings played a role for two people.

Books played a role in the healing process for six interviewees. Titles mentioned were Peter Rutter's *Sex in the Forbidden Zone*, Jon Kabat-Zinn's *Full Catastrophe Living*, Guggenbuehl-Craig's *Power in the Helping Professions*, and Marie Fortune's *Is Nothing Sacred.* Three people were writers themselves and either wrote books or in their journals as part of their healing.

Affirmation or talking to others about their experience and being heard--especially hearing from others about similar experiences with the same teacher--was perhaps the single most helpful thing for interviewees across the board. The relief of talking or the pain of silence was mentioned by seven of the eight interviewees. "I talked to others who'd been hurt by the teacher--thank god I'm not crazy." Hearing from another "an alternative explanation to the same set of

events," was "like entering a new universe." "We started talking in the sangha and on the board." "The main thing was I started to talk to other sangha members. That ended my self-doubt." "It would have been helpful to process this with other people who'd been going through the same thing." For three interviewees this research project was instrumental in getting them to talk to other betrayed members in their sanghas for the first time.

Other helpful activities were: "I settled into an ordinary life." "I started doing other things. I took a trip to Nepal and India. I took a Tanghka painting class." "Soul-searching." Jungian analysis was yet another.

For six interviewees it was important in their healing to find a new relationship to their practice, and for three that meant beginning again after a longer stretch of not sitting. For the other three, who continued to sit, albeit irregularly, it meant finding a new relationship to sitting. Morgan did not sit for a "couple of years," then began to sit "tentatively." She had to "really look at the precepts" and "realize the benefits of bare bones Zen practice." Jamie did not sit for a year, then felt she needed no teacher, then ultimately decided she needed to "reinvest in a teacher." Chris went for years not knowing where she wanted to sit next, before finally talking to another teacher. Lauren spent a year as practice leader in a monastery, that "saved my life and my practice." Neither Pat nor Lauren feel they have had a

teacher since, although both have become teachers themselves. Three people said that they took all the good things they had learned from their teacher or previous teachers and focused on incorporating that. Ariake and Lee are both not practicing at the moment.

Insights About Sanghas. The interviewees had some profound insights about teachers, sanghas, themselves, and the "whole Zen picture." Here is some of what they learned about sanghas and students, although these are less descriptions than they are insights.

"Students are dying to give power to the teacher, do something for the teacher, to honor the teacher." "People are very idealistic and sincere. Very dedicated. There's such a strong feeling about what this teacher/student relationship is supposed to be." "That's one of the mistakes our culture makes--that there is some way to behave where you don't have betrayal, abandonment, fear, or helplessness, because if you know how to protect yourself you shouldn't have to have it. That's part of the victim mentality." "If you were smart, you wouldn't have expectations, but you're supposed to be stupid. So the answer is not, 'Oh, well, we should be more worldly-wise and cynical.'" "The Buddhist community thinks it can meditate its way into Nirvana, but it's reluctant to take on moral issues seriously."

Ariake names the phenomenon of "Ostrich Zen-Buddhism." She says it is hard for her to sit without feeling as though

she is colluding with others in "Ostrichism", or sticking your head in the sand, putting on blinders, and not paying attention to what is going on in the sangha.

Interviewees' Insights About Themselves. Two interviewees admitted wanting the teacher to "save" them, three others related wanting to feel "special" or loved. If the comments on idealization of the teacher were taken into account, probably all interviewees wanted, at some level, be it psychological and/or emotional, to be saved or loved. "I want to be special, acknowledged and honored as special." "I was able to use the energy of the betrayal and de-idealization as a liberation for myself." "I'm more self-aware, how I want to find a personal savior." "I wanted the teacher to save me." There's some part of me that just wants to be loved." "If I do these things, the teacher will love me."

There was a spoken recognition among six interviewees, all of the women, that they were now more aware of their own personal dynamics and more willing to take responsibility for themselves. I believe the men felt this also, but it was curiously not stated in their interviews. "It was a lesson in humility. I feel I've atoned." "I'm aware of my own professional power over people and try not to misuse it." "How I am responding to it is what matters, not the subject matter itself." "There's a desire on my own part to know my own shadow." "I'm beginning to be able to look at my own responsibility in the situation." "Maybe I had to have this

happen in order to separate myself from him or something." "This was the end of projection. The teacher wasn't going to carry it for me anymore. I became a lamp unto myself."

Five people made comments about shifts in their self-confidence. "I began to have more confidence in myself as an individual." "I'm learning to trust my own perceptions more." "I'm learning to undo (patterns) and trust myself." "The teacher can't be the authority for me in all of this." "I realized that I don't have answers and that's ok."

Three also spoke about self-doubt. "I'm not strong enough for authority like that. I need to be stronger in myself." "It forced me to watch my process of self-doubt. There's some way I couldn't trust my own experience." "I feel better, but I still don't know about being a Zen teacher. I've been in hiding for 30 years. It's scary to have the world right there."

Morgan alone acknowledged, "I wanted close to the power center." I suspect, if asked, many of the others could admit to the same thing.

Insights About Teachers. A good number of the remarks about teachers were psychological in nature. Keep in mind that three interviewees are now psychologists/therapists. Two of the eight felt their teachers were afraid and insecure. "I was sorry for Roshi that he was so afraid and at such a level of denial." "The teacher was jealous, insecure and nervous about [students'] education." Some gave their teachers a

clinical diagnosis, "narcissistic personality disorder," "sociopathic behavior," "paranoid," and "bi-polar." Others were more generous. "Something in the teacher contaminated his very real power." "The teacher didn't know what to do with the transference." "'I'm a great Zen teacher' protects the heart of vulnerability."

Still in the psychological vein, another interviewee noted that the teacher was unhappy, felt restricted, and confused. Instead of sorting himself out by getting help, he made a trip back to Japan and then became ultra strict and put the lid on sexuality. Another remarked, "I see the teacher being able to use not just the power of position, but spiritual power to manipulate people." The word manipulative to describe teachers' behavior came up with five interviewees.

After all is said and done, there are still expectations of teachers. Chris has "expectations that a Zen teacher renounce strong passion within the context of practice." She says, "As long as someone is looking at something, I would be willing to learn with them. I feel pissed that the teacher didn't make use of this experience as a Zen practitioner." Another interviewee says, quoting Suzuki, "If you have a problem with your disciple, that's your problem. Understand how it's an expression of your own true nature before you criticize them." Others have the following to say. "A teacher needs to be humble." "The teacher needs to invest in the student's connection to the Divine." "Teachers can't

afford to toss out any of it." "It's the sacred responsibility of the teacher to neither reinforce wacky expectations nor create new ones, but to work around them to the best interest of the student."

Concluding the remarks about teachers, one interviewee asks, "Can the teacher do absolutely anything and then the whole responsibility is how the student responds to it? Does the teacher have some responsibility for the student?"

Insights About the Betrayal Experience. Although two people commented that the whole betrayal experience was in some ways valuable, not all a loss, it seems as though six of eight interviewees found some profound lesson or positive insight for themselves. Lee insists one can learn from any teacher, although she is one of the two who no longer practices and "never wants to have a teacher again." Jamie notes that she has recreated the "masculine tone of all that training stuff" in her own zendo. Robby finds her practice richer. She is learning to trust only her own experience and knows she can go to original Dharma sources. She is leery of charismatic teachers and has found that "unfortunate things" teach us a lot.

Ariake, alone, puts her finger on key structural difficulties. She asks whether Zen might not be "too much into ordeal as path?" She suggests that there is a real "set up" in Zen which leads students to believe that teachers are infallible. "Something is flawed in the whole structure."

Why, she wonders, did she pick Zen and quips with a bit of humor that she hopes she "didn't pick it because they hit people with sticks or anything."

Lauren thoughtfully suggests that, "devotion is a part of practice and to lower our expectations will protect us from harm, but it narrows the sphere ... of commitment we can make." He insists that a translation of Zen things, with respect for Western people's Western psyche, into Western culture is necessary. He also maintains that the degree to which one can trust and make oneself vulnerable speaks to the degree of betrayal that can occur. He believes that the degree is great for those who take practice seriously.

Pat concludes with the thought that perhaps nothing, including Zen practice, by itself is enough. He suggests that we are all working on various things in this life and that trust and betrayal are two of the big ones. "What can you trust finally?" he asks. That's an important question.

Again, four women give voice to their concern for others. "This is bigger than me. I have a bigger responsibility here." "I can't sit until something's done about this because I'll collude with it." "It's sad that someone couldn't have guided the teacher to help. I don't want revenge, but I want the teacher stopped." "I worried about the teacher. Am I being a co-conspirator by remaining silent, allowing harm to maybe happen to somebody else?"

One woman revealed, "I don't know how much I've healed, I have to say."

Results from the Interviewees' Responses to the Stories

Something is wrong with my digestive system. Perhaps I simply cannot stomach these stories anymore? Although I have not been aware of myself as normally somaticizing life's difficulties, I have been watching my body respond to working with these stories, to ploughing through the findings, to holding the space for so much pain. Normally I can sit for several hours working concentratedly on a project, including this dissertation. Now, after 45 minutes, an hour, an hour and a half, I get up for some water and find myself cleaning the fridge; I take a bathroom break and find myself straightening out the cabinets. I cannot seem to sit with the heaviness of the material. Now my stomach is acting up and is a considerable source of discomfort. All sorts of exams and tests find nothing. My physician is Chinese, she asks about my dissertation and the topic, then she nods her head slowly. She wonders, "Might that have something to do with it?" I wonder too. Perhaps these stories are hard to stomach?

The interviewees were given all eight shortened stories to read. They were asked to write one or two pages about their feelings, reactions, responses after reading them. Then

they were asked for suggestions for healing or prevention of betrayals, and also whether they felt that spiritual betrayals differed in any way from other types of betrayal. The letter asking for a response can be found in Appendix C, the complete interviewee responses can be found in the Appendix H.

It must be noted that interviewees received stories from the original eight interviews and their responses were to those eight stories. Just in that moment of "peer response" one of the original eight interviewees decided she did not wish to be in the study. Thus, her story is not told in this dissertation, but responses were colored by her story and often mentioned her plight specifically. While interviewees were working on their responses, Ariake completed her story. I sent her the original eight stories and she responded to them. Ariake's story was sent later as a ninth, additional story to all the other interviewees. Due to the fact that most of the interviewees sent in their responses quite late, some may have responded to all nine stories.

It must also be noted that the nine stories were originally "gender free," that is the gender of both student and teacher was disguised. This made for interesting remarks in conversations with interviewees, who said this kept them guessing and peaked their interest as they found themselves wondering if they would react differently to the stories if the genders were known.

Interviewees had been extremely helpful and had quickly responded to any needs that arose around the research. I allotted a month for them to read and respond to the stories. Even given the fact that Christmas holidays fell within that month, responses were slow in coming. Two came within the week following the suggested date, and another followed 2 weeks after that. Five weeks after the "deadline," after 2 calls and one letter to each remaining interviewee, three responses arrived on the same day. One response is promised "tomorrow," and one is still out. While writing this section, I received the seventh response. These views will now be added into what has been written.

Four people confessed their packet of stories and the response instructions were "buried" under piles of other mail. One person "misplaced" the whole packet altogether. One person was sick, another writing a book. Many were sitting holiday retreats. Still, 2 months is a long time. Lauren wondered if the stories were "too hot" to handle. Or maybe it was hard to stomach them?

Resonance

Of the now seven returned responses, six resonated with the stories of other interviewees. A single person wrote a response, but said nothing about her feelings except she felt sad for teachers and students.

For the six, there seemed to be confusion about resonating to the stories or to the story teller. Two people

felt that they were not really emotionally involved. The first because she had heard so many stories of this kind and because of the way the stories were written, yet she was "impressed" by teachers' behavior and she was saddened by the effects of betrayal on the other interviewees, even gave a bodily description of how she responded. In my opinion, this is resonance. The second person felt guilty about feeling so "flat" about stories that "resonated with his own," admitting that they resonated.

The person who mentioned the way the stories were written named the difficulty of getting drawn into the story because the tight, shortened versions gave so little of the subtle details that allow one to feel the quality of betrayal. I, too, feel this is true. Nonetheless, one person was "rivetted." "With each story I could find something to resonate with, even if the details were very different than my own." Another person replied, "I am gripped. I sink in my teeth and chew. I can't put them down. Can't? I don't put them down."

On a feeling tone, one person was "sad" for both teachers and students, and another felt despair. Yet another felt "a little numb, enraged, disgusted, very sad, judgmental ... and shame." A fourth was "saddened." A fifth felt "ugh! or yuck!" The sixth person was "saddened," and "grateful" for her ability now to discriminate. The seventh respondent felt "fascination, bemusement, horror, disgust."

As might be expected, the six people resonated with different aspects of the stories. What "jumped out" at some, did not at others.

Five people felt consternation about the teachers. Ariake noted the "appallingly uncompassionate response of teachers and sangha peers." Lauren felt, "disgust, depression and disappointment in the various teachers. What a disheartening bunch of crap!!" Morgan was saddened to see "that Zen is being very badly mistaught all over the West." She noted the "arbitrary, erratic and fuzzy teaching." Chris also mentioned "unskillful teaching." She mirrored Lauren's feelings of rage, disgust, sadness, and also shame, "I'm part of this too." Robby responded that teachers "suffered from poor judgement and limited capacity for morality."

Pat looked at this somewhat differently. "Ideally," he said, "teachers would be the parents we never had, and could help us sort it all out. But what a pudding. Sweet, intense, buttery, and so addictive."

The need to feel special and/or to idealize the teacher resonated with six people when reading the stories. "My strongest reaction ... is to the pervasive theme ... the desire to be special, the desire to teach, to be ordained, to be in the inner circle somehow." "The pull to cling rigidly to the idealizing energy in a teacher/student relationship can be tremendous - on both sides." "Here we have the unthinkable, the teacher betraying the student.... It is

easier ... to be in denial if an abuse involves behavior that is unthinkable." "I see one person after another (myself included, of course) trying terribly hard" to be the "good student." "The apparent idealization of the teacher was very poignant...." "...what is it we really want?...to be good, to be right, to be approved, accepted, loved."

Four people resonated with self-doubt and self-condemnation as some of the saddest responses to betrayal, along with the "loss of confidence in one's own capacity as a spiritual person." Lauren felt that the stories brought out "the horrific self-doubt and confusion" and that this "self-condemning is made all the worse by a sangha that does <u>not</u> recognize the shortcomings of the 'Roshi.'" Chris responded, "Somehow seeing [the self-doubt] in others and feeling compassion for them made me better able to identify it in myself." She continued by adding, "It also helped me release some of the shame I have felt at times about having ever gotten myself into such a relationship in the first place." Morgan was saddened by the common aftermath, "a loss of confidence in one's own capacity as a spiritual person. This to me is the most serious consequence of teacher misconduct."

Two interviewees mentioned being impressed by the different kinds of betrayal other than sexual, now realizing that abuse was abuse whether sexual or not.

One person identified with the abandoning of "common sense" and the vulnerability "to be swept away by an authority figure."

One interviewee said, "All the stories sounded so familiar...," but felt they were helpful in assimilating "one's own experience."

One person identified betrayal as "the strongest glue there is to bind people together." Perhaps this is part of the dynamic that held so many people tightly bound to their teacher and sangha for such a long time, unable to leave.

Spiritual Betrayals

Six of the seven interviewees who responded agreed that spiritual betrayals differed from other betrayals. Morgan named the "falling away from practice and a loss of confidence in one's own capacity as a spiritual person" as the "big difference between spiritual betrayal and other forms of betrayal."

Lauren felt that there is a "simple correlation between the degree of intimate openness and the vulnerability of the person betrayed." In the teacher/student relationship the student becomes "greatly intimately open and vulnerable." He does not think spiritual betrayals differ in kind, but in degree, although he says they may be different in that they are insidious, corrosive, more subtle because often there is nothing to point to. He likens them to childhood betrayals and, describing sangha behavior, even makes the parallel to

incestuous families' denial reactions, which make the situation for the abused still more painful.

Lee thinks spiritual betrayals have the potential to be more devastating than other types. Especially if one has devoted one's life to the practice, "it can shatter the whole structure of a life and often destroy the spiritual practice." She notes that other betrayals may also destroy lives. Ariake says that, "betrayals by spiritual teachers are profoundly different than other betrayals, but I don't feel I could say why. Even though I have suffered many traumas, I never before considered myself to have been betrayed."

Robby says, "Betrayal is a risk in any deep relationship. Betrayal in the spiritual arena risks the spirituality of the student. That cost is too precious for words." Chris, although she does not address the question directly, in describing what happens in the breakdown of the teacher/student relationship says, "...there is a deep shattering--not only to one's sense of relationality, but also of one's capacity to be inspired."

Pat, again, has a slightly different take. "I don't think spiritual betrayals are particularly different from other betrayals. To be betrayed, you have to love very deeply."

Suggestions

Something in the stories must have resonated deeply with interviewees because when asked, everyone had suggestions and thoughts about the healing process and preventing betrayals.

Education and reform were Ariake's suggestions. She is the single person who mentioned the whole structure of Zen as being partly responsible for the conditions leading to some betrayals. Educating both teachers and students and initiating reform would also help those who still need healing, because it would acknowledge that harm had been done. Acknowledgement is "one of the first and most necessary steps in healing." Looking at reform, Ariake says the first step is dialogue. This thought fills her with despair. "How," she asks, "will there be dialogue in an institution that is so dysfunctional?"

"Make it open, make it known," says Lauren. His own experience in the sangha with making things known has been difficult. It takes a long time to bring things into the open, and much hard and painful work. It also often falls on deaf ears, so to speak. Nonetheless, though the expected results may not occur, he suggests a "middle way ... let's not brush it under the rug,... hope that it goes away if we ignore it;... let's not idealistically ... expect that ... bringing it up will bring it to a magical ... resolution....It's important to bring up, bring up, bring up, and it probably won't do much good!...rather like our practice ... we keep trying and trying and trying, and mostly we don't do too well."

"We Zennies have to stop thinking of ourselves as special....follow the lead of mainline denominations and set

up ethical standards and grievance procedures. We need some "standard of training for ordained people and teachers that includes seminary-type training in precepts, in transference, misconduct and sexual harassment, etc." Writing "openly about these issues in Buddhist publications and workshops," a registry of trained teachers, a higher level of authority than the local sangha to appeal to, and "support for victims and perpetrators who want to change" are her further suggestions. Teachers need to view themselves as a profession, she adds.

From Robby come the following suggestions. All students contemplating a teacher/student relationship should be taught thoroughly that "the Buddhas cannot transfer their insights to us. All they can do is teach the Dharma. I am my own protector." "I cannot stop my teacher from further exploits," she says, "I can protect myself." In addition, "Teachers should teach us to spy on them...," teach us "Don't trust me!" "Students should be taught to protect their spiritual practice."

Chris notes that we must pay more attention to the "inevitable vulnerabilities in all teachers as well as students." She points out that other "helping professions have ... paths for training, recourse and complaint." Chris suggests peer support, consultation, and teachings on teaching. "I don't know what the answer is, but I resonate with another interviewee's disturbing question: 'Do we make a

bunch of rules about all this, or do we just let it happen and learn from it what we can?'"

Lee feels that more rules will not solve the problem. "What we have is a shortage of wisdom, a shortage of wise people who have good hearts and know how to govern themselves," she says. "How do we increase the numbers of wise people," she asks? She answers her own question, "By learning from our experiences, using them to understand how we and others work, and by being humble and compassionate."

Pat finds that languaging the issue differently would help. "Nobody 'betrays' anybody else. Nobody 'does' betrayal. Person A does something, which person B 'experiences' as betrayal." He touches what is pointed out in the literature review: "We will have to get off the right-wrong axis to find relief."

Comparison With the Results of My Own Story

The Betrayal Situation

I find my story similar in most ways to that of the interviewees with one major exception--there was very good teaching going on at our center and the teacher was clear and open in his relationships with students. To my knowledge there were no feelings of "abuse" or betrayal among other students. It was mostly senior students who complained to our teacher about that one particular issue, his relationship with the woman. They were all rebuffed for their observations, but they all continued to study with the teacher. Because they

lived far away and were not involved in the daily running of the place, they experienced the rebuffs but no other consequences. Perhaps, being far away they also felt less threatening to the teacher. Of the three women who were "sent packing," all three of us lived at or near the center and were involved in its day to day business. We experienced the daily difficulties, and the manipulation of our lives because the teacher had to endure our constant confrontations (our very presence was a confrontation) and he perhaps felt threatened by our presence, possibly that we would make his relationship public.

Of the three, I was the only one who was not yet fully teaching. The experience of betrayal stopped me at a crucial point in my training and my development, which may have been true for the other interviewees, too. However, the atmosphere in our center was different from the general intimidation that set the tone in other centers. Perhaps the wounding was so much more surprising given the open tone that otherwise permeated the center.

That said, I also used the words devastated, stunned, surprised, astonished at my teacher's behavior. I was "taken aback." Discussion about the issues I brought up was not "within the realm of possibility." The teacher could not own certain issues.

Similar to other stories, the teacher manipulated situations and people to make my life so uncomfortable that I

would leave. The lack of concern for my psychological/ emotional/spiritual welfare was astonishing, "the total disregard for my safety and process." Possibly he felt I was strong enough to handle it, but he also knew how extremely vulnerable I was both emotionally and financially due to the circumstances of my divorce.

I said I trusted my teacher "more than I had my parents." That is true. Not with details of my life, but with my "inner landscape," for which my parents had had little understanding. It was the first time that I had so completely, openly shared my visionary and mystic experiences and been supported in integrating them into my practical daily life. Trust, as with the other interviewees was a big issue. My idealization was healthy and had good boundaries, I think. I was feeling very much a peer of my teacher when this happened. I left quickly when I saw what was happening and did not wait for long months, let alone years. I was deeply shocked but still intact within myself when I left.

The atmosphere at the second center seemed much different. Everyone deferred to the Roshi. There were robes and much bowing, although ritual was held at a minimum. People were impressed by the teacher's deep wisdom and insight. It was also difficult to hold a normal conversation with him, especially as a woman. Whereas the "feminine face of the Divine" was revered in my "home" zendo, it had no place in this one. I was feeling vulnerable and when my perceptions

and experience were negated I deferred to this well-known Roshi's opinion, thereby abandoning myself.

One other full-fledged teacher taught at our center. It was as if two roshis shared the same space and facilities. This is unusual for the Zen "scene." Many workshops took place at our center: sacred dance workshops, Ikebana workshops, courses in death and dying, Christian contemplation, heart-centered prayer retreats, Tai Chi classes. Flyers for Tibetan and Vipassana retreats were on the bulletin board. Although my teacher had contact with many people and encouraged students to try different things, like the other teachers he did not have a peer feedback loop. Neither did he have psychological supervision as far as I know. Unlike other teachers, he continued to study with the Japanese teacher who took over our school when the former head teacher died.

I left the center without closure with the teacher as most interviewees did. I did speak out privately to several senior students, but I did not go public with my situation. When I left, faith in my teacher and in the practice was shaken. I was furious and grief-stricken. I was also proud of myself. The doubt for me came much later.

Like some of the other interviewees I, too, wanted to teach. Perhaps this was wanting to be close to the power center, there was an element of the desire to be special, liked, and respected by the teacher. It also had to do with a

deep longing to share the joy of practice and support others in waking up.

Aftermath

The aftermath, for me, set me up for abandoning myself with a second teacher. At the first sign of misunderstanding I felt my ability to trust him shaken.

I, too, used body language to describe my experience. I felt the "rug pulled out from under me," I felt "kicked out," and I felt my posture change, I felt "closed and tight." "I lost my voice."

My confusion about myself and my practice mounted under the second teacher's tutelage. Like the other interviewees there was depression, grief and confusion. I began to doubt myself and my practice. I abandoned myself by doubting my own perceptions and experiences in my practice, and my ability to discern for myself what was true. I withdrew, at least from the Zen world, and because I had left home, the contact with friends was limited. I told no one in the Zen world my woes, except for my Dharma sister, Eva, but I told all of my old friends and my children. Morgan, too, did this, but it was unlike many other interviewees.

Again, like the others in the study, my self-esteem and confidence plummeted, especially in Zen matters. I "avoided Zen teachers and Zen centers." I could not sit on the cushion. For a good year I did not sit.

Healing and Insights

The things that helped me most in my healing process were psychotherapy and the decision to study for a degree in counseling psychology. I really wanted to know what my part, my responsibility, was in the experience. I chose a program with an holistic approach, which included creativity, movement, and Gestalt techniques. Then I chose an experiential Ph.D. program with courses in women's spirituality, Jungian dreamwork and symbology, and creative expression. The biggest boost to my healing process was the admission of my Dharma sister that she, too, was experiencing betrayal around the same issues. Again, see Appendix G. I sat first with Tibetan practitioners. For several years I have been sitting with the Vipassana community, while at the same time sitting weekly with a Zen group near my home.

This dissertation is a direct result of my experience, a chance to write, as did two other interviewees. I want to lessen the chance that this kind of thing happens to other students, the same desire that six other interviewees spoke to. The dissertation has become the process of reclaiming my voice and my place as a teacher, of reclaiming self-confidence and -esteem.

In my story I wrote nothing about sangha insights except that I recognized that students everywhere were experiencing harm, and that we were all in this together. Like others I question the Zen world in general and the way of practice. As

many of the interviewees, I have seen into myself, recognizing the willingness to abandon myself in the face of disapproval, or at least to go underground with myself. I have seen in myself patterns of behavior, such as withdrawal from difficult situations where men are in power. I have seen how I have often defied power by stubbornly voicing the truth about things in ways that have sabotaged my best interests. This was the first time, though, that I felt my voice had been silenced.

Spiritual betrayals and suggestions: In my story I said nothing about spiritual betrayals, but I did suggest that transpersonal experiences with my teacher made the wounding more painful. Elsewhere in the dissertation I have put forth my opinion that spiritual betrayals are indeed different.

Likewise there are no suggestions in my story for "reform," or changes. These suggestions come in the discussion section.

My Reflections and Responses

It is the middle of the night and I keep waking from a light sleep. My head is thick and heavy and dark with the feeling of the stories, not particular details or particular persons, just a whole swirl of pain, fear, outrage, disgust, doubt that spirals round and round me, enveloping me in the darkness, its darkness.

Noontime, driving down the road, I am, for the umpteenth time, aware of yet another instance where I have betrayed others. The myriad small ways that I betrayed my former husband, by the lack of right intention, by withdrawal of faith, by an intentional biting comment. The many ways, as a mother, I have betrayed my children. The ways, I as a child--even an adult child--betrayed my parents. Each time this happens, there is a deeper understanding of myself and of those who may have felt betrayal as a result of my behavior.

Reading the stories, I remember the interviews. How carefully, how studied and tentative many people spoke, in what low-key the stories were told. A certain anxiety makes itself felt in the telling. Even the "sturdy" reveal the effects of the experience--a minimizing joke, a few tears, an extra resolve in the voice. From some comes the feeling that they are willing to take on the bulk of the responsibility. I am reminded of one professor's statement in a psychology class, "Just because it's projection, doesn't mean it's not true."

Remembering the interviews and each interviewee, I can regain that sense of "clear purity" or "whiteness" I sensed in each person. It is at once innocent and untouchable, yet strong and flexible. I think of how different each interviewee feels--how some feel so emotionally sturdy and others quite fragile, yet all were harmed. Most have "recovered," some perhaps more so than others, and all these

interviewees are the strong ones. They have helped themselves by already having contacted other teachers and therapists, by being in some kind of loop, where it was "easy" to reach them for this study. What about those who have silently left sanghas and teachers, leaving no trace of the harm done? What about those of whom we do not know? Have they managed to heal somewhat as well? I wonder if their Divine connection is intact, recovered, wounded, or severed?

Although I see the responsibility of students to become "good students," in the sense of becoming sturdy and self-confident, learning to "protect" themselves and to "spy" on their teachers, etc., I am left with the realization that most students who enter practice in the West must first become *good students. We must first learn what that means, and the teacher is the one who teaches us through the practice. Yes, we must be responsible for learning and practicing to be strong students, but again and again I come back to laying the* ultimate *responsibility at the feet of the teacher. And, the teacher will make mistakes.*

It feels as though it is not so much that the teacher behaves badly, as that s/he is unwilling to look at her/his own shadow that constitutes the feeling of betrayal. When confronted, then denial. When denial, then what? There is the crux perhaps. Depending on the strength of the student, there is fumble and recovery--on a continuum. The teachers in these stories are not giving sturdy students intentional

lessons of disillusionment by "depedestalizing" themselves, rather each teacher has clearly fallen into the trap set by her/his own shadow. When given the chance to "redeem" themselves, the trap snaps shut. (It's rather like a person who, not being aware of how hurt they were as a child by their mother, and how angry they are about it, lashes out a woman who looks like, speaks like, or acts in a way similar to the mother. Neither the person nor the woman know why that lashing out took place. Both are left bewildered--and hurt.) They are lucky that the interviewees have been "good enough" students, to paraphrase D. W. Winnicott, and managed to learn something from an unintentional, badly-taught lesson.

My heart weeps at these relationships that seem to take place in a vacuum. What is the role of the absent sangha? Physical bodies do not a sangha make. Some sanghas seemed to oil the traps, almost set the bait. Others refused to acknowledge the trap, or to free the "catch" from the iron jaws.

I would like to mention organic methodology's aspect of transformative change for the researcher at this point. As a result of working with the eight stories I began to see my own from a slightly different perspective. I could more easily see the good teaching I had received. I could identify the hang-ups of the second teacher and question his ability to relate to women students. I could more easily accept my own "weaknesses" within the betrayal. My own sense of having been

in a betraying process lessened in gravity by knowing it in a larger context of betraying behaviors. Perhaps by working with the material, not just hearing the stories, I had a heightened awareness for the many times and ways I had betrayed people. I had an intellectual, emotional, and bodily sense of unity with the teachers, a "real" sense of unity as well as an "absolute" sense. This was helpful in taking up even more responsibility for the betrayal without letting the teacher off the hook. So there was a shift in the way I viewed betrayal and the teacher's role in it. More compassion, perhaps, for the teacher--and for the student.

Results From Resonance Group's Responses

The constellation of the resonance group changed almost constantly. It was very difficult to get dedicated Zen practitioners to participate in January. Everyone was either going to, coming from, or participating in sesshin at this time of year. Finding a day and time agreeable to those who could make it, was the next difficult hurdle. Three people agreed to come and then pulled out at the last minute, leaving me calling recommended people, most of whom I did not know. One person had to withdraw because scandal had just broken in her sangha and she felt too close to the situation, it was too "raw" for her to participate in the discussion. On the day of the discussion, I was expecting seven people. One person never came, but because we waited for her for 20 minutes, our

discussion was cut by that amount of time. This left us with four teachers: two women and two men (one of each gender who has been teaching for many years, and two who have recently received transmission), and two students: one woman new to the practice (2 years) who had taken the precepts and one man who has been practicing for many years and has not taken the precepts. I was the seventh person.

Of the six people attending, five promptly gave me their two-page responses before the discussion. One teacher promised it promptly but became ill and has not been able to complete it. However, because we began the taped discussion with a brief statement about our responses, I do have that person's short, verbal response which I will include with the five written responses. The complete responses can be found in Appendix I.

The responses here were very similar to the responses of the interviewees themselves. Every single person in the resonance group empathized with the interviewees, or resonated with the situations to some degree.

As before, people resonated with different stories more than others. Resonators admitted to feeling more empathy for those whose stories were less "black and white," who saw their own part in the betrayal, and acknowledged the different aspects of the teacher. The emotions and feelings expressed ranged from anger, sadness, grief, dismay, to devastated and depressed; from heartsick, to being proud of some

interviewees' courage; from feeling the pain of interviewees' suffering, to feeling terrible themselves. One person had had the blues since he read them and could still feel the stories working on him. Another said reading the stories felt "toxic," and she could only read two at a time. One teacher had a dream/nightmare about a pile of broken Buddha statues lying at the bottom of a cliff. She saw the broken faces as the faces of betrayed students, and in the dream she ran about trying to fix the faces and statues.

One teacher tried to imagine how he might have reacted in some of the situations and found the basis of empathy lay in the lack of clarity in his own response. One student felt impatience and anger with the interviewees for participating in their own betrayal. He felt most of the stories were "depressingly one-sided, talking in terms of how the teachers should be." That said, he also admitted to the needy, child part of himself who empathized and identified with each of the story tellers.

Two resonators, one teacher and one student, mentioned the role of the sangha, which was so lacking in a "positive" way in these stories. The sangha was not "a refuge." Three resonators were appalled at the misuse of the Dharma, "...the outrageous way the Dharma teachings were used to mystify, ignore, twist, intimidate, shame and blame the student." This included using permission to teach as a carrot on a stick, or side-stepping and ignoring precepts. One teacher learned that

"the basic form of betrayal is when the teacher does not recognize the student." She felt this was a big lesson.

Two people wondered how students could leave themselves so vulnerable, trusting the teacher "no matter what." One person mentioned idealization of the teacher, but in the ensuing discussion *all* resonators felt that how teachers deal with idealization is an important issue. Three resonators spoke to the way we grow up in this culture, our relationship to authority, the low self-esteem of people in the West, and the question of whether we have to be "somebody" before we can be "nobody."

The resonance group had some of the same remedial suggestions as the interviewees themselves. One student resonator did not address this question at all, the other hoped that wide circulation of stories such as these with a commentary might help equip students to recognize and question signs of abuse.

The teachers had the following thoughts. Two teachers felt that ultimately the "wisdom of community," (i.e., the sangha) was the key to better teacher/student relationships. Healthy sangha process, using ethical guidelines, consultants to assist group process, therapists when personal problems hinder community, rotation of teachers through positions, and requiring teachers to work in concert would "nourish a ground in which betrayal cannot easily flourish."

Top down authority and the isolation of teachers were

named in one response but mentioned as serious issues by all in the group meeting. Unfortunately, the group did not get to discussing the authority issue because of the time spent on idealization, teacher transmission and training, and structural problems.

A change in attitude or perception was suggested in one response. "When I began to practice, there was a feeling of breakthrough just around the corner *if* we sat hard enough, surrendered completely, etc. We did not really appreciate the slow, beautiful lifetime nature of practice." This was greeted with some interest in the discussion, in which another teacher brought up the idea of a deep shift on a moral level.

Results of the Resonance Group's Discussion

This last paragraph has brought us, now, to the resonance group's discussion meeting. These results will be related here in short form because they make up the bulk of the Discussion section. It must be noted that the teachers in the resonance group discussion very much empathized with the interviewees. They were very discouraged about the behavior of the teachers and very much held teachers ultimately responsible for what happens in the teacher/student relationship. They were very concerned about the students.

The two student participants in the resonance group could empathize with the interviewees, but were both of the same mind, "Why didn't they just get out? Just get out!" They

felt that the teacher and student were equally responsible for what happened. Their part in the discussion was minimal after we all reflected on our responses to the stories. As they can hold their own in a conversation, I feel this was due to the fact that there was little of relevance to them because they held a different view. They followed the discussion avidly and did interject appropriate comments.

In that meeting, there was general concern about the way Zen teachers are selected, how students qualify and are trained for the position of teacher. Questions arose about the participation of the sangha and other teachers in the process of choosing who should teach. Why are people "promoted" to positions of responsibility and to teachers when many sangha members have grave concerns about them? There was discussion about forms of teacher training.

The questions about how Zen is practiced in the context of this culture, and how the structure of Zen practice makes it so easy for people who have "characterological flaws to become Zen teachers, sometimes rather famous Zen teachers," were discussed. One student mentioned that he had always felt that Zen is not for weak souls. In some ways it is a hardy and cruel practice. He could hear teachers saying, "I was doing it for the student's benefit." In any case we should avoid giving the impression that Zen centers are safe, compassionate places to be. Zazen is *not* for everyone, he concluded.

The isolation of teachers was again brought up, and the need for a structured feedback system from peers. Also discussed was the need to nourish sanghas to become healthy and "transparent" places where openness, inquiry, discernment, and critique are accepted and encouraged. The necessity to teach students to "spy" on teachers, to shop around and watch different teachers' behavior and style before deciding on a particular teacher was underscored.

The fact that the precepts do not get to the underlying unconscious was brought up as relevant to all practitioners. Although the precepts chart our course, they don't get to the unconscious individual, to the relational dynamics with the teachers, or to the dynamics in groups. Teachers are really unaware in this area. In this vein, the rather dark, unsuccessful history of spiritual communities in America was touched on.

What unsatisfied, unconscious needs are fed by using the name "Roshi" was also a question. It's not just a title, it's an attitude. With that, we are back to the attitude changes mentioned at the beginning of this description of the discussion content.

My Response to the Resonance Group

The most interesting thing for me was the fact that the group was split on the main issue of ultimate teacher responsibility in situations where students are harmed in

experiences of betrayal. All the teachers present felt decidedly that ultimate responsibility lies with the teacher. The two students had little empathy for the interviewees, but felt, "Why didn't they just get out?" The split remained. Of course many points in the discussion were of little interest if one felt that the responsibility were to be taken up equally by teachers and students.

I was surprised that the question of help for both teachers and students involved in these experiences was not talked about. Perhaps it was simply lack of time. If the teacher, and perhaps by implication the Zen center--if there is one--is ultimately responsible, what would that mean? What is right action here? Particularly for the student, but there is also the question of repercussions for the teacher. That alone would be a huge discussion.

I was also surprised at the students' adamant opinion that Zen was not for meek souls or those with weak ego strength. One drew the consequences and said Zen is not for everybody, the other insisted no one be turned away because there was no way to estimate a person's potential to transform. However, this didn't quite jive with her view that Zen was not for those with weak ego strength.

It rather felt like a den of heretical teachers discussing controversial issues and two students saying, "What's the fuss?" The lack of empathy from the students for those who had felt betrayed, was startling. Perhaps they have

had really good Zen experience and never met with someone who has had real difficulty. Or has their idealization not been challenged as of yet? Or are they truly such strong individuals? I asked both of them to come because I knew they would be willing to speak out, undaunted by the presence of teachers. They did a great job.

I was acutely aware that I appreciated being among peers, and that I was actually feeling that I was a peer. That was a necessary experience for me and I enjoyed the fact that the other teachers and I were on the same wave length. I had anticipated more diversity of opinion, especially because I had not yet met most of the teachers. That would have been interesting, but it was encouraging to find supportive voices.

Perhaps the most important piece that came from the discussion was the idea that a deep, moral shift in our way of being in the world was necessary, especially for teachers. This was an idea that I have had myself for a number of years and he nailed it for us. I am not sure that it was deeply heard by the group as a whole, but in my opinion until teachers embody that existential, fundamental, very deep shift, we will continue to have these harming situations arise.

It felt as though we were just beginning to "get into it" when we had to disband and that had we had more time, we could have talked on for hours. The remarks at the end of the discussion that things were not getting better and the

knowledge that fallout from another teacher/student "episode" was taking place as we talked, were disturbing. The vocalized thought that those teachers who most needed to discuss these problems were the very ones who felt they could simply teach out of their experience and had no interest in discussion was discouraging.

Miscellaneous Findings

The Silent Ones

Six of the seven interviewees mentioned, either in the original interview, in their responses, or in a telephone conversation, that this small research group was only the tip of an iceberg. There were many more people "out there," "in the woodwork," or "in hiding" who had also been harmed. These six interviewees knew specific people who had also been harmed, some more so than the interviewees in this study. The implication seemed to be that these people had been so wounded that they were not willing to talk, even now, even outside of their sanghas. There was genuine concern for the well-being of these people.

Attrition

An interesting scenario developed with the responses of the interviewees to each others' stories. Even given the fact that I sent the stories out to be read in mid December and it was the holiday season, participants took an inordinate amount of time to get back to me. Because of the "holiday factor", I

allowed four weeks for reading the stories and composing a two-page response. In mid February I was still begging for the last responses after they had "trickled in" for weeks. Even follow-up phone calls and one follow-up letter had limited effect. Some of the apologies followed my own line of thought: maybe the material was too "hot" to handle, too heavy. Most interviewees read avidly, once they had begun. Gathering the feelings, emotions, and thoughts for the response posed the problem. One interviewee never responded.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

> "The heart is the source, the pure Buddha-nature that is inherent in all of us....The essence is empty and allows everything to pass through; it is quiet and at rest, it is illuminating, it is peaceful and productive of bliss. When you have within yourself a deep insight into this, you immediately realize that all that you need is there in perfection and in abundance, and nothing is at all wanting or lacking in you."
>
> Huang Po

Transformative Changes

At the very beginning of this dissertation, in my own story of betrayal, I said I had lost my voice. Then, in the introduction, I commented that this dissertation promised to be a reclamation of that voice. The section on organic methodology revealed that transformative change is one of its fundamental aspects. Indeed, the process of writing, no living, *this dissertation has been extraordinary. I did, during the dissertation process, receive Dharma transmission from my teacher, but that did not end the self-inquiry or completely relieve the self-doubt. Neither did it quell my questions about Zen and my role in it.*

My teaching stick lies on the altar. It is the stick that my teacher received from his teacher. The wood is smooth and dark, the Japanese symbols for "Mu" and the original teacher's name are carved into it. A small, perfectly round hole has been bored through the middle of it. My fingers find it easily when holding the stick. Daily this stick reminds me of the trust placed in me. It calls me to transformative

change, to confront my demons. It dares me to call out; its voice is my voice.

One day, sitting quietly, a simple insight comes. Many years ago I began to teach German and English as foreign languages. There were people who spoke better English and German than I, but who couldn't teach well at all. There were people who had better teaching skills, but their language wasn't as good. There were those whose skills were far superior to mine across the board. Nonetheless, out of necessity, I taught. As I did, my teaching skills increased and I found I really was a "natural" at it. Not only that, my language skills also developed at a rapid rate.

In an instant I felt transported back into the zendo and "felt" how it was to be teaching and assisting, and how deep inner layers continued shifting and changing. Better to teach what you know as best you can, than not to teach at all. Swallow what you know, and the lump in your throat cuts off your voice and causes heartburn.

When I began the dissertation process I was still making a big circle around most Zen centers and avoiding Zen teachers. Now, I had to talk to harmed Zen students, some of whom had become teachers. Talking to teachers about their experiences of feeling harmed as students, I found they had had similar struggles to my own. I began to see how very "normal" my process was. Their practices had also suffered. They hadn't known if they wanted to teach or not; they hadn't

practiced, as I hadn't. They questioned themselves as teachers. Some still were uncertain about their teaching role. Listening to their stories opened my heart to myself.

To help heal my practice, I went to the Vipassana community. I talked to their teachers and I practiced at their retreats. It felt kinder, lighter. For the first two years of the dissertation I practiced the Brahma Viharas (loving-kindness meditation), then began recently practicing with a focus on doubt. Vipassana teachers recommended a Zen teacher who worked with harmed students, so I went to visit her. What I found was a bulwark of support and plenty of information and suggestions.

As I began to connect with teachers at Zen centers around the area, I was touched by their generosity. When I began to put together a Resonance Group, if one teacher had to decline, s/he would recommend someone else. In the end, a group of teachers, most of whom I hardly knew and who had very little knowledge about what I was doing, pulled together and helped me out. Not only were they very supportive, but they turned out to be like-minded. My ideas had already been labeled "heresy" by one teacher, but here were a number of teachers talking heresy. My Dharma sister, Eva, wrote that, of course I was a heretic, I couldn't pretend that I wasn't taught by the biggest heretic of all! Well, maybe there is some truth in that.

During that meeting I finally felt among peers with no anxiety about voicing my opinion. Heresy loves company! The main thing is that even in a different forum, my voice had come back. I do *want to teach. I will be a teacher, well-intentioned, transparent, and open, to the fullest extent that I can be. Students and teachers will "call me" on things -- and I will learn.*

Another shift that has occurred is that compassion for my teacher has grown. Although I told him once quite openly and frankly the topic of this dissertation, he chose to ignore it and change the conversation. It is possible that he has now heard through the Zen grapevine about this study. When it is finished and I return home, I will bring it to him. I hope that he will be able to feel the great love and gratitude that have permeated this study and be able to open his eyes and his heart to his role and responsibility in this experience. I know that his heart is big enough to forgive himself and have compassion with those he has harmed. I hope it will open and know it may not. "Sun-faced Buddha, moon-faced Buddha."

Mostly I hold the intention that he will not feel betrayed by me writing about this topic based on my own experience with him. I really do not wish to harm him with this work. The change most palpable and most important, in and for me, is that there is no trace of anger left. Grief and sadness have lifted. Doubt is disappearing. Trust in myself has resurfaced and grown. <u>These qualities</u> have been

transformed. Humor and equanimity have resurfaced. I can now see clearly how I abandoned myself in the face of male disapproval and negation of my experience. I can see the way in which my practice was not solid. I can see the unskillful means I used in approaching my teacher and how different approaches may have been more skillful. This has shown me a pattern of behavior that does not permit authenticity. I have seen deeply into myself and "owned" as much of my part in the experience as I can recognize now.

Looking at the overall picture of spiritual betrayals, I have become much more aware of how terribly damaging they can be. I had an inkling of that when I began this project, but it has really had an impact on me. The intricacies of the teacher/student relationship have become more apparent, yet after all is said and done I feel that responsibility lies more heavily with the teacher in these instances. It is irresponsible to think one's self "enlightened." I am more willing than at the start to see the level of responsibility that lies with the student, and I also see that varying a great deal depending on the maturity of the student. The ratio of responsibility is different in every teacher/student relationship. Relationship and betrayal are an exquisite, sometimes dangerous, even fatal, dance.

It is interesting that Chris also seems to have undergone a transformation of some kind. After her low-key interview

and our conversation regarding the use or exclusion of her story in this research, she found the voice to confront me on what she felt the issue was and to explain her views on subtle betrayals. Those views are very much my own and are included in the following discussion. Because her interview was so low-key, it felt as though her experience of betrayal did not fit the definition of betrayal used for this research. In the end I decided to include her story. It shows how betrayal can look like almost nothing and have an aftermath that looks outwardly as if nothing has happened. The whole process takes place very subtly over a long period of time and the aftermath lies more in a state of mind rather than in observable behaviors or occurrences.

In addition to these transformative changes, there was another exciting facet of transformation in this research. As a result of the interviews, three interviewees, former students of one teacher, began talking to each other, and ended up sharing their stories of feeling betrayed. They contacted several others who had been harmed by their teacher and asked them to an all-day workshop. They asked a Zen teacher they had come to trust to be with them that day and support them. Several weeks after the first meeting, they held a second meeting. Through sharing they realized how "brain-washed" they had been, and still are after ten years: brain-washed to own their own projections. The participants in that group felt that the use of specific language had

created an ambience in the sangha, in which one had to use that language in order to belong to the "in" crowd. This language influenced *not* listening to the inclinations of one's own heart. Although not as many people came to the second meeting, the interviewees felt that sharing their experiences had validated their perceptions, strengthened their self-confidence and fostered healing.

Research and Methodology

This unanticipated "aftereffect" is, I think, indicative of the ways research, when held sacred, with the intention of allowing for unfolding, and using intuitive and transpersonal approaches can touch people's lives in unexpected ways and lead to innovative responses. If a research that empowers, encourages practical responses which allow people to empower themselves, I find this enormously satisfying. The results are not just findings on a page, but transformative changes in people's lives. A research that encourages reflection and mirroring, empathy and resonance may have clinical value as well. This is in addition to the healing role of simply talking about one's experience and telling one's story.

The interviewees in this research did more than simply tell their story. They received a shortened version to read and revise as they saw fit. This empowering act was followed by the chance to reflect on their own story in the context of all the other stories, which was, in turn, "therapeutic" and helpful to some of the interviewees. In any case, in light of

the seeming resistance to write a reponse, the exercise, at the very least, in asking participants to revisit their experience yet again, brought them to another level of reflection and awareness. This may have been uncomfortable or painful, it also produced some valuable insights and understandings. I feel this may have aided in deepening, expanding, and perhaps even shifting interviewees' understanding of the various issues and of their experience.

For the resonators, the two-fold response had its own value. First, the chance to reflect and resonate was an opportunity to practice compassion, or empathy, and second, it was a chance to touch that place of woundedness in themselves, reminding them of their own vulnerability. In addition, if they had had similar experience, it was a chance to revisit that, and perhaps to learn and shift their understanding.

The actual discussion was an opportunity to talk not only about feelings of resonance with the interviewees and their stories, but about betrayals in a larger context, expanding understanding of what occurs and encouraging suggestions for how to respond to these unfortunate experiences and those caught up in them. There were some suggestions, and there was a connection with like-minded teachers which may, at some point in the future, prove useful. That the resonance panel's reflections and discussion dove-tailed so nicely with the responses/reflections of the interviewees pointed to a certain validity "from the viewpoint of everyday consensual discourse"

suggested by Anderson (1998, p. 72). "Validity," she explains, "concerns our capacity to relate accurately the fullness and richness of a given human experience." (p. 72). Portraying an experience accurately "is to relay it thoroughly and comprehensively."

Engaging with the material on more than one level seems to have had an impact on both interviewees and resonators involved. Again, those levels, or cycles, of resonance/ reflection were five-fold: the interviewees' reflections, my own responses/reflections to the stories and reflections of the interviewees, the resonators' reflections on the stories, the resonators' discussion of the topic, and my reflections on the resonators' reflections and discussion. This called upon me to continually review my feelings, thoughts, and meaning-makings. In addition, I told my own story. The various levels provided a creative and natural way for the major themes of the research findings to emerge. The insights contained in the responses and shared in the discussion with the reader are powerful testaments to the value of this type of research. These cycles of resonance verify the findings, support validity.

The idea of the resonance group, Sympathetic Resonance, is an innovative method, a valuable tool for indicating a measure of both validity and of generalizability. The method of Sympathetic Resonance is described by Anderson using a musical analogy. If one plucks the string of a piano, violin,

or cello on one side of a room, for example, a similar string on an instrument on the other side of the room will begin to vibrate (p. 73). Another analogy would be a reader of poetry where "meaning somehow passes directly from the writer to the reader or listener, seemingly by pointing to an inchoate experience already shared by both" (pp. 73-74). Anderson finds that the validity of "a researcher's insight analyses" could be verified by "consensus building, noting consonance, dissonance, or neutrality--subgroup by subgroup--within a culture and across cultures" (p. 74). She points to feminist researchers and epistemologists who emphasize the "importance of defining the social and political context of research findings" (p. 74). Looking at the findings from the two-page responses, the group did just that, fulfilling its function optimally. In addition, the discussion provided added supporting data, provocative new ideas, and possible venues for future exploration and research. However, since there has not been much experience with this method, some comments may be helpful.

I feel my directions to the resonators could have been more explicit. For instance, there can be resonance to thoughts, feelings, issues, experiences, people, etc. In a research project such as this, where resonance is used as a method of validation, it is resonance with the experience that I was looking for. Unfortunately, I did not make this clear to the resonance panel, with the result that some reported

resonance both with the person having the experience and then with the experience itself. Of course, it is impossible to thoroughly tease the experiencer apart from the experience. Nevertheless, it can be seen by the responses that most resonators mixed their resonances to the experience with those to the experiencer. In addition, the resonators did not often distinguish *how* they resonated, i.e. by thought, bodily indicators, feelings, etc.. In the future researchers need to be more precise about this point, which would include explaining in detail just what is expected of the resonator and exactly what the word resonate means for that research project.

There are real possibilities for organic and transpersonal approaches to research--especially when researching sensitive and intimate topics that look deeply into human experience. By encouraging story rather than specific answers to specific questions, we can allow a natural flow of information to collect. By not trying to prove theories, we can open ourselves to the richness of the data as it unfolds.

Although all research can be held sacred, this intention is an essential ingredient when conducting research on delicate subjects. It is not only the research that is *held* sacred, it is the way the researcher views the world, recognizing the non-duality of the sacred and the profane--thus, the whole research and everything and everyone connected

to it *is* already sacred. This attitude and the openness of organic methodology allow an unfolding of information and an unfolding of understanding that brings to light the heart of what is being researched. It encourages honesty, compassionate listening, and deep revelation in both researcher and participants that may not otherwise be accessible.

This study has pointed to several questions that could be further researched. One is the question of women's meditation experience--whether it is different from men's and how. Perhaps they would benefit from a different kind of practice or different practice settings. Another question is whether men are less prone to betrayal, or feel betrayed by different issues, and how their experience may differ from women's. The question of adapting Eastern spiritual practices to Western culture and the different ways that is being tried, could be "investigated." Across spiritual traditions the ways that students could be "prepared" for spiritual practice, and the question of "readiness" could be looked at, as could the question of teacher "readiness," selection, and training, and the role of sangha in spiritual practice. The whole issue of the relationship between ego structure and spiritual practice needs to be explored. Ways of healing within the sangha and the teacher/student relationship could be studied. In addition, betrayals could be investigated from the teachers' standpoint. How do teachers view the situations where their

students have felt betrayed? Have teachers who have been confronted by students for exhibiting betraying behavior learned anything from these situations? Who is particularly prone to betrayal, and how are they to be dealt with? Is there an elitism in Zen that attracts certain kinds of people/students? Finally, the question of a deep, moral shift in Zen practitioners, brought up by the resonance group, deserves special attention.

Betrayal

A pearl goes up for auction.
No one has enough, so the pearl buys itself.
Rumi

In the process of putting together the discussion section of this dissertation, I have found that the voices of the interviewees and resonators are clamoring to be heard. They have written the discussion with me through their many remarks and insights. With much wisdom and reflection, they have, together, clarified and elucidated every major area of meaning pointed out by the findings. As I threaded their thoughts and words into my own, I realized how this was being jointly conceived. Just this fact, that there is so much agreement, so much resonance among us, says something profound about the universality and validity of the interviewees' stories. Here, then, is our combined wisdom, woven and transformed into meaningful conclusions.

It is important to note at the outset the general agreement between the resonance group and the interviewees on the very deep wounding that took place in these stories. The terrible self-condemnation and self-doubt both as Zen practitioners/teachers and as private individuals as a result of these betrayals is striking and disturbing. Almost everyone agreed, especially the teachers, that betrayals in the spiritual realm can be extremely damaging to a student's basic trust. After ten years, the mark left by these experiences is still palpable.

Because the resonance is so great and the agreement on issues like depth of wounding, responsibility of students, ultimate responsibility of teachers, and the different quality of spiritual betrayals is so complete, it is important to listen to the insights and suggestions of both groups. Here, too, there is agreement and complementarity. All the more reason to give careful attention to them.

Part of the problem of betrayal in the Zen world lies in how easy it is to misuse the teachings to manipulate students, as for example, the view of the Absolute as different from the Relative. Paraphrased from the stories and responses, in the Relative realm, there is betrayal and exploitation, in the realm of the Absolute this is simply the nature of human existence. No one betrays anyone. There is no betrayer and no betrayed, no betrayal. To language the situation thus, could invite us to eliminate the everyday reality and the

experience of feeling betrayed. However, although no betrayer and no betrayed, there still can be betraying. If we recognize "betraying happening" as a kind of dependent co-arising, and a "when this, then that" as suggested at the beginning of this study, we get a more compassionate sense of what happens in betrayal experiences. We get out of the "right" and "wrong" of it, out of "who did what to whom."

The experiences depicted in the presented stories show quite well the intricate interdependence of betrayal. When an unattended emotional issue in the teacher is touched by a student or a situation, the teacher becomes vulnerable. When, in this moment, an unresolved issue in the student is also activated, or the student has not enough ego strength or discernment, the student also becomes vulnerable. Further, when the student is also laid open by devotion or healthy idealization of the teacher, and deep practice, s/he is doubly vulnerable. When either student or teacher is triggered, there is room for misunderstanding. These situations are unavoidable, but two things complicate the situation and make it ripe for disaster: When a student's idealization of the teacher is more "unhealthy," intense, with a lack of ego strength; and when a teacher is unwilling to investigate his/her own blind spot.

When these circumstances arise together and the teacher is unwilling to attend to this blind spot, he/she is not likely to recognize and attend to the needs of the student.

When the student complains or questions, then the teacher feels threatened. When the teacher feels threatened, then s/he defends and continues to attend to satisfying his/her unmet needs. Then the student feels unseen, unmet, unattended to, betrayed. When the teacher uses the Dharma, or Zen teachings, to explain or defend actions, the confusion for the student mounts.

This situation can be experienced in the flash of a moment or subtly over a long period of time so that a student hardly realizes what is happening. Here are the words of Chris. "When a teacher, through lack of skill, or personal defendedness,... misunderstands a student and then reacts defensively or retaliatorily to the student's attempts to restore accuracy," she says, and if this should happen repeatedly, "in a surround of growing tension ... there is a deep shattering--not only to one's sense of relationality, but also of one's capacity to be inspired." Chris concludes, "This is no small matter. ...sometimes that shattering happens slowly, more erosively, like water dripping on a stone." These more subtle experiences can also cause "much anxiety, grief, self-doubt, obsessive self-questioning, rage, isolation, confusion, lack of progress ... along the path of spiritual growth."

Spiritual betrayals do have a different quality about them. They take place in extraordinary circumstances of great love, and great openness, and vulnerability. Morgan points

out that the consequence of spiritual betrayal is a loss in the belief in one's self as a spiritual being capable of going towards the source of truth. "If you take that away from people, you've taken away their life. ...you kill them. They may still be alive," she continues, "but there's a part that's so wounded that it will never trust again, and never trusting again means you can never truly do the spiritual work again."

Spiritual betrayals are much like incest betrayals. One teacher/interviewee described it eloquently. She likened students to flowers, opening themselves in front of her. They were like children. "The most vulnerable, childlike aspect comes in and wants to be known and acknowledged. It's the heart of the child and the vulnerability that's the spiritual link, the spiritual venue." She realized that when people came in and opened "like flowers" in front of her, "If I ever did anything to betray this, it's worse than child abuse. It's cutting out their heart." It was then, she said, that she, "realized the depths of spiritual betrayal."

The differences in the kinds of betrayal must be noted at this point. Just two of these stories were about interviewees having sexual relations with their teachers. The others all experienced betraying behavior around a continuing pattern of behaviors that at some moment reached its culmination point. There were financial and legal elements of betrayal as well continual invalidation and intimidation. Students felt betrayed in numerous ways. Just because it isn't sexual,

doesn't mean it's not betraying behavior. Abuse has many forms and different "intensities." It looks different for each person and each teacher/student relationship. It is harder to see how a teacher might be fulfilling his/her own needs when the betraying behavior is negating the student's perceptions. It is difficult to see betraying behavior when it consists of quiet put-downs and manipulations of perception, such as "Projection" or "Go own it." Constant reminders of one's own inadequacy and the teacher's understanding are also difficult to catch.

From the blatant behaviors in Morgan's and Ariake's stories to the subtleties of Lauren's and Chris', the stories show that most experiences of betrayal lie on a continuum of subtlety, making it simpler to grasp the Buddhist view of when this,...then that. When the teacher/student relationship is disturbed in this way, Chris points out that awareness of interconnectedness is lost, as is the honesty of the situation. The teacher's shadow grows unchecked, unacknowledged [nor is the student's shadow attended to]. In my opinion, both teacher and student are denied a precious opportunity to see into themselves and each other, to discover compassion in the midst of their human vulnerability and pain.

But wait. If experiencing betrayal is part of the human design, what is the intention behind it? That we *do* learn from it? Indeed, most interviewees certainly did learn about themselves, saw themselves in a different light, questioned

their role in the experience, found a place of compassion for themselves and the teacher. I did. There is no evidence, however, that the teachers in these stories learned anything, though perhaps they did. We could give them the benefit of the doubt, except that, for the most part, these particular teachers continued harming other students. A different study could look at these situations from the teachers' perspective.

If betrayals are indeed meant to help us mature on the spiritual path, that may have happened for a number of people in this research. Despite terrible self-condemnation and loss of confidence in their own capacity as a spiritual being, they have managed to pull back from the brink and reclaim their own Divinity. But what of those from whom we have not heard? If this loss of confidence is the "most serious consequence of teacher misconduct," as one interviewee put it, how seriously are those unheard people still hurting? By the way this study was constructed, only those people who had managed to start their own healing process could be contacted. It is extremely painful to contemplate the distress of those still living in silence and isolation because of experiencing harm from a teacher on the spiritual path.

It must be stated that some of those living in silence may be those who found new teachers to help them through the aftermath of their experience. Others may have found therapists, worked through their feelings, and are now re-adjusted to life. Others may have changed traditions. All of

those would have broken their silence and gotten help. The talk about the "silent ones" revolved around those who could not speak freely to their sanghas, nor to their friends and families, nor to their teacher or therapist. These are the ones who have been so harmed that may have trouble functioning on a daily basis, or who manage to live a visibly "put-together" life while being in inner turmoil about trust and safety issues--especially in interpersonal relationships. This latter group would be difficult to unearth for research. They are not likely to respond to ads on the internet, in newspapers, or even to the prodding of friends who know about their situation. They are the ones we need so desperately to reach.

As can be seen from the stories, interviewees are at different places on a continuum of healing, even after ten years. One person suggests she doesn't know how much she's healed at all. One resonator was impressed by how long the process takes--if it happens at all.

Ultimately, of course, we must each realize, to quote one person in the resonance group, that "I am of the nature to betray and be betrayed." This recognition allows us the freedom to see that we essentially betray ourselves in the effort to acquire acceptance from the outside. We exhibit behavior similar to that of the teacher who doesn't "see" us, or interrupts our process. The interviewees reported time and again intuiting that something was wrong, awareness of warning

gut feelings, of an inner knowing. Interviewees did not "see" themselves either. In all stories this small voice was neglected, rejected. We who felt betrayed did not attend to our own voice. These betrayal experiences were two-fold, with an inner betrayal of the self as well as an "outer" component, or the experience of feeling betrayed by an "other." As one resonator put it, "it takes two to create an abusive relationship. Each of us bears responsibility for our experience. We should, in the Buddha's words, be lights unto ourselves."

Relevant Remarks About the Experience Itself

Only connect.
E. M. Forster

The other day I called a friend for something and she asked if we could get together and have tea or dinner. We decided to go to dinner, and over our food she shared a vision she had had several months ago during a desert fast. In the vision she had gotten an image of me as a wild cat, very ferocious. The vision had to do with this research, which felt ferocious as well. The phrase "Caryl's revenge" came to her. How would my teacher feel when he saw our story spread out in front of everyone?

It was very helpful, and welcome feedback. It seemed especially important because I was deep into the discussion section and rereading everything ten times watching for words and pieces that contained my own prejudice, my own unfinished

business. There is a part of me that is quite ferocious and intense. It takes some of both qualities to work with this topic. I also am coming from a place of great gratitude for my teachers. I do not want to blame them. I do not want this research to blame them. Part of me still wants an acknowledgement that something *happened. I thank my friend and quietly own my part in the projection. I wonder if she is owning* her *part in it? But I do not ask her.*

Students

The question is, can we be lights unto ourselves from the moment we enter Zen practice? Why are we so "grimly willing to abandon ourselves," as one resonator put it? The answer may lie partially in low self-esteem, discussed below. Indeed, the results of this whole inquiry into the experience of feeling betrayed confirms what was suggested in the Literature Review that, as students, we bring into the zendo, into the practice, all of who we are in this culture. Our practice does not take place in a vacuum.

Teachers that I spoke to during the writing of this dissertation and one of the resonators touched again on the low self-esteem of Western students. One interviewee touched on the victim mentality in our culture and in students who are so willing to see themselves as victims. The resonator was surprised at how "manifestly strong and competent people can be laid so low in this area." She remarks, "In our ready masochism we are all too willing to sacrifice balance and the

middle way for the "trip down"; for "getting to the bottom of all this," for allowing our own experience to be discounted...." Having lived outside of the United States, I am often struck by the lack of emphasis in this country on taking responsibility for one's self and one's actions. Sometimes, it seems, we would rather make rules and laws, we would rather litigate and legislate than accept responsibility. We would rather make money than be responsible. It is easier to point fingers, to blame and to demand compensation than to educate and hold accountable.

This kind of thinking may result in two aspects that considerably influence the dynamics of teacher/student relationships: the student's desire to be "special," and the student's search for someone to "save" her/him. As many of the interviewees found out, their desire to be "good," to be "special," and to be "worthy of love" in the eyes of the teacher, led them to turn a deaf ear to their own inner voice, which is certainly "grimly willing to abandon one's self." The search for someone "out there" who would "save" them (take the responsibility for saving them), led them to idealize the teacher and to forget that the teacher, too, was human with human failings. At the very least it allowed them to close their eyes to harmful behavior instead of confronting it.

Low self-esteem and a tendency to think in terms of victimization do not encourage the recognition of one's own personal power, let alone the expression of it. This brings

us to the issue of power and authority. If inner power and authority are lacking, they are likely to be projected or transferred onto another. The question of authority and the response to it came up for both interviewees and resonators. One resonator pointed to the issue of authority in our Western culture. "Many of us grew up in America at a time when conventional authority was being radically deconstructed. Yet, we did not always see what lingered in our own shadows--yearning for authority, yearning to be authority, yearning to be whole." We have so much confusion and conflict about authority. "We crave it and then set out to cut it down to size." He also notes what became so clear in the stories, that each community seemed to have a top-down authority structure. How the sangha responds to that structure, and what place the sangha has in it become very important questions.

The sangha is composed of individuals, and how each person responds to authority colors the response and maturity of the community. Many of the interviewees acknowledged a desire to be close to the power in their communities. They wanted to be with the "in" crowd. Most interviewees were central figures in their practice centers, serious practitioners, up-coming teachers. This could be interpreted as spiritual greed, but I had an intuitive sense that the interviewees were sincerely looking for "the chance to be part of something good and truly useful to ourselves and others,"

as one resonator put it. That entails coming to terms with both power and responsibility--especially one's own.

It is important to note that continuing practice brought five interviewees to a place of great self-loathing even before they experienced betrayal. The fact that such a self-loathing process went unobserved, or unchecked over an extended period of practice begs the question of how zazen was being taught. Not only that, but one must question whether the teacher in such cases was aware of this in the student. Was the teacher contributing to the student's deepening self-disrespect directly, by negating the student's experiences, or by building up his/her own sense of self? For sure, if students do not feel good about themselves, they are more likely to submit to authority and not question it.

One wonders about the teacher's self-esteem and self-confidence. Usually, if one is satisfied and comfortable with one's self, and feels powerful in one's life, one has less fear of others' authenticity and authority. If one has no need to defend one's position, one is open to suggestion and questioning. Some teachers seemed to be defensive across the board. Others appeared to have moments of vulnerability that triggered an enormous amount of defendedness. Some were in the habit of openly "trashing" their students, others were more subtle and covert about undermining their students' self-esteem. Other teachers had been quite supportive and open.

All the more surprise on the part of the student when the Zen "roar" of displeasure was evoked.

There was no long discussion about issues of authority and gender in either group. The interviewees did not bring it up directly as an issue except to say that teachers had misused their authority. In the Literature Review it was suggested that culture plays a large part in who we are. I cannot help but notice and point out that the misuse of power in our own society at this moment has run rampant and the general attitude of the populace is somehow to ignore it, or to focus on it avidly without holding anyone responsible. The case of Bill Clinton is but one example. The ability of Health Management Organizations to deny patients access to medical care or refuse payment seemingly at whim, but really to make money, is another. The threat of the IRS and their apparent willingness to ruin people's lives through lack of dialogue or compromise holds some segments of the populace hostage, normal citizens are "anxious" about a federal agency.

In such instances people with influential position have felt it was acceptable to use their power to meet their own (their agency's) needs with reckless disregard for the people whom they harmed. On the other hand, except for having to live down their reputations (which seems remarkably easy) they have not been held responsible or had to pay any price for their actions. Except for perfunctory apologies, one does not get that they recognize any sense of harming. Really, it is

more about the embarrassment of getting caught, than about acting "unskillfully" or about the lack of compassion and right action.

In the same way, we must ask ourselves as a populace what part we play in the power game that allows people in power to know that they can get away with these things. If one person is misusing authority, not only single individuals are allowing that to happen, but society as a whole is fostering an atmosphere which encourages such misbehavior. In this respect not only each student needs to take responsibility as far as possible for him/herself personally, but the sangha community must nurture an atmosphere of helpful questioning and compassionate listening. It must also hold teachers accountable. If they don't, there is no higher authority which will do it. More about this later.

Low self-esteem and self-loathing certainly play a part in the answer to the question asked by so many after reading the stories. "Why didn't they just get out? Get out guys! Just get out!" The answer for some can be found in two interviews. "To leave would have meant I was a failure," said one interviewee. In another's words, "I am so bad, that I can't even do this right. I've failed at my job here, I can't get along with anyone, or with the teacher, etc." Anyone familiar with "battered spouse syndrome" will recognize some of the same (power) dynamics at work here.

Curiously, no one spoke to the issue of power and gender. Gender came up only around the fact that the stories were originally "genderless." This irritated and at the same time fascinated the readers. Only after the resonance group and my dissertation chairperson said they felt it would be helpful to know the genders so that gender dynamics could be taken into account, did I put gender back into the stories. But in the conversations about the issue of betrayal and in the responses no one brought up gender dynamics. This is an interesting omission. Although six of the eight interviewees were women, more "traditional" (i.e., sexual) gender issues are seen in just two stories: Ariake's and Morgan's.

Of course, how women are acculturated to respond to power and authority could be of great relevance in these stories. The dynamics of how they respond to power not just on the sexual front, but on all fronts would be a study in itself. However, the men in this study did not respond to authority in a manner different than did the women when sex was not an issue. That there were more women than men in the study, may suggest that women overall are more likely to experience harm in "power over" situations, and so there would be a correspondingly bigger pool of women who have felt betrayed. I do not know if this is, in fact, the case. I wonder if men would be as willing to admit to being wounded by a teacher, and I wonder if they would, over all, feel betrayed by different circumstances? Common belief has it that men are

often less prone to ask for help, in which case they might not have been known to the teachers who helped find interviewees.

We see that men and women teachers were involved with men and women students in betrayal experiences. Two women were involved sexually with male teachers. Two students were harmed by male teachers and one student by a female teacher because the teachers were having sexual relations with a third person(s).

Each betrayal situation in these stories was unique, as are all betrayal situations. Interviewees brought their own particular mix of emotional "baggage," upbringing and cultural influence with them. Some admitted to difficult childhoods, others had solid, happy childhood families. Some had been depressed over long periods of time. Others were happily married at the time of their betrayal, while some were having marital difficulties.

It is safe to say that a student's self-confidence, or the lack of it, or the inflation of it, is a major factor in the teacher/student relationship. The student's relationship with authority and power, both internal and external is also a big influence in teacher/student dynamics. These are related to each other and are factors contributing to ego strength.

The question of ego strength was brought up by the interviewee who dropped out of the study. She made a poignant statement that the teacher should have told her when she arrived at the center that she was not yet ready for Zen

practice, at least not for the intensity of living full-time at a center. The question of "Do you have to be somebody before you can be nobody?" was brought up again in the resonance group discussion. It is an important question that we did not thoroughly explore that day, but does need to be addressed. Young children have deep spiritual insight, even kensho experiences. I have read letters from parents or older children describing these experiences in their children, or themselves, recounting what was said and done. This can happen before children's ego structures are well-formed. In a sense, they know they are nobody before they know they are somebody.

Students with a weak ego structure must be treated very differently from those who are more robust. They, like children, need to build a solid container to hold their experience. That said, even those interviewees who reported having supportive parents, a solid, nurturing childhood, and a good sense of self and self-esteem, those who had good boundaries and self knowledge, experienced betrayal with their teachers. Perhaps they recovered more quickly or more "completely," but that would be a different research focus.

The issue of ego strength introduces the idea of the student as warrior, which was brought up by one interviewee, and the influence of Bushido on Zen. Bushido is an ancient code, the Way of the Warrior, stemming from Japanese feudalism (Victoria, 1997, p. 96). Japanese Zen proponents from at

least the latter part of the 19th century considered Zen to be the very essence of Asian spirituality and of the Japanese culture, and "the key to the unique qualities of the Japanese race" (Victoria, 1997, p. 95). Zen spokesmen also "identified Bushido as the very essence of Japaneseness" (p. 95). As Victoria points out, if both Zen and Bushido "comprised the essence of Japanese culture, the question naturally arises as to the relationship between..." them (p. 95).

Victoria translates Nitobe's *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1905 pp. 176-188), explaining that "the physical endurance, fortitude, and bravery that 'the little Jap' possesses were sufficiently proved..." in war. What won the wars were "...the ghosts of our fathers, guiding our hands and beating our hearts. ...They are not dead, those spirits of our warlike ancestors" (Victoria, 1997, p. 97). Indeed, not only soldiers, but every Japanese citizen was expected to adopt the code of Bushido. To be a person and not a beast meant to be a samurai. This meant to be faithful, brave, generous, manly, and full of self-respect and self-confidence. At the same time, a person was to be full of the spirit of self-sacrifice (Victoria, p. 98). Especially after 1937, self-sacrifice was proclaimed the essential element of Bushido.

We are not brought up in our culture to think of ourselves as warriors, let alone to behave like warriors. The widely-read adventures of Carlos Castaneda on his spiritual path are a description of his struggle to learn the way of the

Native American warrior. Castaneda had a tough ego structure that had to be cracked open by his teacher Don Juan. Interviewee Lee sums it up succinctly. "The student's role requires not just tremendous trust, but tremendous strength: the strength to ask, always, 'How can I learn from what is happening? How can I use it for my spiritual growth?'-- no matter what is going on." Lee quotes from Castaneda's chapter "Petty Tyrants" in *The Fire From Within*: "We know that nothing can temper the spirit of a warrior as much as the challenge of dealing with impossible people in positions of power." Lee says, "We believe we can be damaged by maltreatment, as opposed to the warrior, who knows he cannot be damaged."

The Western culture does not raise us to be warriors. As Lee explains, we think in terms of "justice and retribution, good guys and bad guys, victims and perpetrators. We want kindness,... a nurturing relationship ... in which we can clearly see how we are being helped. We want people to be rational. We want to be valued, and paid attention to."

There may be nothing wrong with this, but it does not go with the fierce classical relationship between Zen master and student. Zen teachers and Zen practice often treat students as warriors and demand self-sacrifice. A fierce warrior, knowing he cannot be damaged, can self-sacrifice from a much different standpoint than a person without that knowledge.

I think that, in many cases, including some of the stories in this research, the student does get caught in this

juxtaposition of cultural values and character traits. Perhaps teachers get caught in it, too. Rather than attending to one's own perception, the student may try to behave like the image of the warrior s/he wasn't brought up to be, and may then accept teaching behavior that is projected as a samurai lesson.

Such "tough" lessons and harsh behavior in Zen history abound, especially in the Rinzai tradition. Who has not heard the koan anecdotes of devoted, tough students who are clouted and bashed by their teachers and thereupon experience kensho? I often wonder how many casualties there were for every one experience of kensho. Of the sometimes thousand or more students in a Chinese monastery, did many get fingers or arms cut off with no enlightening result? Or was the teacher so very wise that he knew each of those thousand monks to the core? Then he could discern who would withstand the act both physically and psychologically.

This image of the warrior appears in the interviewees' stories as the image of the good Zen student, described as calm, good-natured, compassionate, trusting, long-suffering, loyal, obedient, hard-working and *self-less*. Other warrior attributes such as powerful, responsible, discerning, honest, trustworthy, wise, self-respecting, are lacking in interviewees' descriptions of the good student. In addition a view has crept into practice that to show feelings, especially exuberance, joy, and, heaven forbid, anger, is unacceptable.

I wonder if this, too, is a Japanese cultural attitude that snuck in the back door with formal practice?

If this mix of vulnerable victim, low self-esteem, confusion about power and authority, and possible gender related dynamics is combined with the Bushido attitude, the situation becomes volatile--especially with the added component of idealization, and our cultural belief in the spiritual guide as compassionate, kind, and wise. As both interviewees and resonators brought up, idealization is a hot issue. Generally it is agreed that idealization is a necessary component of the practice and the teacher/student relationship. The resonators pointed out a difference between healthy, normal, useful idealization, and "pathological," parasitic idealization, and they had misgivings about the way the teachers presented in this study worked with idealization. Perhaps it can be sorted out a bit in the following discussion.

I would like to address idealization and also the question of student vulnerability in the context of the teacher/student relationship.

<u>The Teacher/Student Relationship</u>

The teachers in the resonance group agreed that when the student connects to a teacher, s/he expresses love and admiration for that teacher. Idealization is a necessary part of practice. When the student brings this idealization to the teacher, it cannot be shoved back in his/her face. It doesn't

work, as one resonator says, for the teacher to say, "I'm just a person, you stand on your own two feet and don't idealize me." With practice, the idealization will wear itself out if the teacher helps the student to let it wear out, much the same as it does in therapy situations. This happens partially when the idealization is mirrored back to the student and those traits are pointed out as belonging also to the student's qualities. It is very important along the way for the student to have someone to genuinely respect for their very fine qualities. How the teacher handles the idealization is critical, not the fact that the student has an idealized image or transference. If the teacher is uncomfortable with the idealization, or if the teacher "laps it up," so to speak, then there can be problems. In such cases, the chance of the student working though and reclaiming those projections, recognizing and accepting his/her own "ideal" qualities, is slim. When a student is interrupted or halted in the reclamation attempt, the result can be devastating. This moment of "not being seen" by the teacher, or the subtle, long-term "blindness" of the teacher are both identified by the interviewees as aspects of the experience of betrayal.

Interviewee Lauren reminds us that when we practice it is a matter of life and death. It is not just a hobby. The evening ritual at sesshins admonishes students: "Life and death are a serious matter.... Don't waste time." The practice moves us deeply and we open ourselves to it very,

very deeply. If somebody (i.e., the teacher) is catching our idealizing projections and is representing the practice, "well, they'd better be pretty careful that they're taking care of things [meaning their own psychological issues] pretty well, or trying to...," Lauren says. " And they need to be humble and recognize, as Suzuki Roshi said, that a Zen teacher's life is one continuous mistake."

In the context of "life and death" practice we entrust ourself to the teacher *because we idealize* him/her. Lauren likens this to getting married and plighting our troth (trust), which means you lay yourself open, make yourself vulnerable. In the same way we approach the teacher in the teacher/student relationship. In dokusan we are completely open, and the teacher knows and sees everything about us. Idealization allows trust to begin to happen. We could not trust someone we perceived as a "jerk," we must idealize to some degree for the process of spiritual inquiry to start. In a way, we are laying ourselves open to ourselves, but in the moment we need to present it to the teacher--i.e., to the Divine, or to the Divine we ourselves are. But as students, caught in the process, we do not yet grasp that fact.

The degree to which we (students) can trust and open to the teacher is the degree to which we can know ourself. It is also the degree to which we learn to trust the Divine and finally ourself. The process of trusting opens us to knowing the many aspects of ourself, which allows us to reclaim those

aspects that have been transferred onto others and the teacher. When this process is well underway, idealization begins to melt. Again, if the teacher disrupts this process and cannot redeem the situation, something deeply wounding happens to the student. Lauren says, "The degree to which you trust and the degree to which you make yourself vulnerable speak to the degree of betrayal that can occur. That degree is very great in spiritual practice for people who take it up in a serious way." The wounding of this vulnerability disturbs our connection to the Divine, and it is exactly that connection that the teacher needs to affirm and to invest in within the teacher/student relationship.

So, here is the student, with a more or less healthy idealization of the teacher and in a state of wide-open vulnerability. It would take a very practiced and wise student to be in these circumstances and still be able to call up and rely on his/her intuition or witness self, that part of us which stands aside and says, "Hey, what is the teacher doing? Is this right action? Non-harming?" In fact, in order to do that, a student would have had to have already reclaimed a good portion of his/her idealized transference. But that is the very reason that the student has come to practice, whether s/he grasps that fact or not. The student is looking to recognize and claim his/her idealized transference and unknown/unacknowledged aspects, his/her own Wholeness/Divinity.

So the student is, as Lauren says, "supposed to be stupid. It's good to be stupid. There are too many smart people in the world. It's good to be stupid and open and vulnerable in that way. *So the answer [to betrayals] is not, "Oh, well, we should just be more cynical and worldly-wise."*

We can lower our expectations to protect ourselves from harm, but to do that we will not get the depth of commitment. It is okay to go into spiritual practice and the teacher/student relationship with "goofy" or "wacky" expectations because they are simply part of our experience. However, as Lauren points out, "it is the sacred responsibility of the teacher and the sangha to neither reinforce those expectations, nor create a new set of them, but to work them around to the student's best interest."

As has been stated a number of times, great wounding happens when the student is interrupted or stopped in the process of working through his/her issues, most of which, directly or indirectly, have to do with the reclamation of projection and transference. It is the break in the process that does the most harm to students--that and the unwillingness of the teacher to admit that something has transpired and to talk it out with the student. Indeed, many of the interviewees named this inability to communicate about what was happening between them and the teacher as *the* single most wounding aspect of the experience. The people in this study did not need the teacher to be perfect, but rather to be

appropriately open and vulnerable about their own behavior, their own shadow. The question remains, is that need still part of the idealization of the "perfect" teacher?

Two things must be mentioned here. First, within the framework of practice and the teacher/student relationships reported by interviewees, many of the interviewees became vulnerable in other aspects of their lives in or around the moment of feeling betrayed. The teachers were aware of the situations which encouraged vulnerability in their students. There were relationship problems, life-threatening illnesses, moves away from family and fiends, etc.

Second, a good part of the time, the teacher/student relationship takes place when one or both are in an altered state. This will be looked at more closely in the following section.

The Teacher

Poor idealized teacher! This is not an easy situation to be in. Students, much like adoring children idealize their parents, bring their idealizing transference to the teacher. Idealization plays a necessary and crucial role in human development - and not just in regards to parents but to others as well. Not only that, idealization is not reclaimed, acknowledged, recognized once and for all, it is a recurring/continuing process. Idealization helps us recognize and own the genuine, noble aspects of ourself. Students need the teacher to hold, or mirror those qualities to them while

they begin to reclaim and own them, piece by piece, as the teacher guides them through the practice. All the wonderful, ideal qualities the student sees in the teacher and others are parts of him/herself.

What now, does the teacher do? If the teacher comes from Western culture, many of the same cultural influences experienced by students have affected him/her. If the teacher is from a different culture, other influences have colored the world view. In either case, because they have become teachers and are part of a lineage, it is assumed that a teacher senior to them has followed their process, witnessed their deep understanding and insight into the nature of things, guided and supported them in accepting both the noble and "ignoble" aspects of themselves. In short, we assume both that the teacher has seen deeply into the nature of things, and also taken care of their psychological issues. It is especially this latter assumption that causes much misunderstanding.

I suggest we have this assumption because it is part of our cultural heritage to believe that "clergy" is concerned for "everyman's" best interests. We have a long tradition of that belief system. (We also have a long history of failed religious communities, from Thoreau to Jim Jones.) One interviewee says she knows of no tradition that takes the humanness out of its teachers. I would beg to differ. We expect priests, ministers, rabbis to exhibit more virtue and less vice than us "ordinary mortals."

Unfortunately the study shows that very often deep insight does not burn away all "holes" in a teacher's character, nor does it eradicate the sum total of the teacher's emotional baggage. The study shows that approval from a lineage is not the guaranty of an ethical or emotionally stable teacher, nor necessarily of deep spiritual insight. Both resonators and interviewees, whether themselves Zen teachers or Zen students, were saddened, appalled, and discouraged by the behavior of the teachers in this study.

Kylea Taylor describes beautifully in her book *The Ethics of Caring* the various traps in healing relationships and the corresponding spiritual countertransferences. In my opinion, spiritual insight and attention to psychological/emotional growth go hand in hand. They are inseparable. We might say that psychological growth is the embodying of spiritual insight. Conversely, psychological growth forms a larger, deeper container for, and encourages spiritual insight.

Taylor warns of six teacher vulnerabilities to unethical behavior: disregard for the student, caregiver burnout, ignorance of pitfalls, underestimation of the power of nonordinary states of consciousness (and transference) to affect us, teachers' own unexamined personal issues, and teachers' unacknowledged longings for love and spiritual connection (Taylor, 1995, p. 156).

Many interviewees expressed concerns about teacher disregard for students and about teachers meeting their own

needs. Although Taylor writes about all professional healing relationships, she uses the words "therapist" and "client" in her descriptions. I have changed these here to "teacher" and "student." Taylor posits that teachers disregard students either willfully or unconsciously. Those who willfully disregard students think they can do so with impunity; when they are "called" on their behavior they wonder what the fuss is about and do not understand that they have caused harm. Such experiences do not move the teacher to expand his/her ethical consciousness. Some teachers may not be able to genuinely care about students because they have not done the deep work to heal the wounds that keep them from feeling their connection to others (pp. 156-157).

Teacher/student relationships often take place in non-ordinary states of consciousness. Taylor talks of the powerful transference and countertransference that can take place in those moments. She states:

> Disregard for the client is especially problematic when the therapist works with clients in nonordinary states of consciousness. Many clients have issues of not being loved and not being good enough. In a nonordinary state, clients may internalize a therapist's lack of regard for them, escalating this self-blame exponentially.... They may re-imprint what they learned during their own experience of emotional child abuse: that they are merely useful (to pay fees, give sexual favors, or bolster the therapist's self-esteem) but not lovable. (1995, p. 157)

Interviewees may have experienced something similar in their relationships. When both teacher and student are in altered states, the situation becomes even more charged.

Taylor talks about the "physical transmission" or energetic circulation that often takes place in the intensity of nonordinary states. She explains that the teacher cannot predict how these emotions and energetic movements will affect emotion and movement in him/herself (p. 160). "To stay naturally grounded a teacher must have faced his own fears of emotional expression ... then he can ... identify with the release the student is experiencing, without fear of it" (p. 163). Those teachers who engaged in sexual misconduct with interviewees may have fallen prey to such energetic movement, but this influence is not confined to sexual behavior alone.

As far as teacher burnout is concerned, Taylor feels that it relates more to how many unresolved issues the teacher has than how many students are cared for, or how stressful outer circumstances are.

About ignorance of pitfalls Taylor says that if teachers have never considered the possibility of unethical situations with students involving money, sex or power, they are even more vulnerable to falling inadvertently into such circumstances. If this is the case, then Taylor feels a teacher is even more unlikely to consider the ramifications of the intensity of "emotional, spiritual, transpersonal, or nonordinary state situations" (p. 159). The teacher may not recognize the "impending signs" in him/herself, especially if s/he has not heard the experiences of other teachers. "...we maintain a general state of ignorance in ourselves and our

colleagues when we do not talk with each other about these things" (p. 159) because "We...think we should live up to some ideal of human perfection for caregivers because our peers do not talk about their mistakes and their countertransference issues" (p. 160).

It is possible that some of the teachers in our stories may not have considered some of these possibilities for themselves and thereby fallen into a trap. If they were to believe that their practice and the fact that they have received transmission are proof positive of some kind of "infallibility," this would be self-deception. This deception would be compounded by students' projection of infallibility, goodness, and perfection--which, as we have seen, is given all too readily. Morgan commented on several teachers' attitude about having the *Truth* whereas the students did not. "I'm a great Zen teacher ... and I'm enlightened ... is just another way of protecting the heart of vulnerability." Several stories indicated this teacher behavior.

As far as unexamined personal issues, Taylor notes, "when teachers identify their own defenses and stop disavowing their vulnerabilities, they can mediate more easily between their more self-serving motives and their higher values" (pp. 164-165). If they do step off the path of right relationship, the first step is an honest one. "I did that!" The second step off the path is a dishonest one. "I did not do that!" The teacher may then *feel* less vulnerable to unethical behavior,

but may actually be more vulnerable. "If the teacher is not willing to tell the truth to herself, she is probably invested in the course she is on--getting what she wants at the expense of the student" (p. 167). [Teacher and student are substituted for therapist and client in Taylor's text.]

Finally, a teacher's longing for spiritual connection and love, when unacknowledged, may cause the teacher to engage in sexual misconduct, try to direct a student's intuitive process to fulfill the teacher's own needs, or exploit the student to satisfy his/her own curiosity (p. 176-181).

In any case, Taylor gives us some background for understanding what might have been going on with the teachers in these stories. When students who may be first struggling with their issues find themselves working with teachers who have their own characterological holes or unreconciled issues, it is only a stroke of luck or perhaps a teacher's pure, genuine intention of non-harming and deep caring that can save them from disaster.

Interviewees had some strong feelings themselves about teachers' misuse of power, arbitrary and fuzzy teaching, badly mistaught Zen, and narcissistic modes of relating to students. One interviewee reported that a fellow teacher was recently taken to task by her peers for a disdainful, arrogant attitude. It did not faze the teacher in the least, and did not result in any change. Another teacher, challenged by one of the resonators about some behaviors, insisted he would be

"poetic" and teach out of his enlightenment experience. Still another teacher commented at a teacher conference, that should he see a woman student who interested him, he would "go for it."

The stories left me with the feeling that teachers were quite vulnerable and sometimes ill-prepared for the emotional/ psychological challenges students presented. I was particularly disappointed by the defendedness exhibited by the teachers in these stories when students touched their vulnerability. I do not think teachers started out to do harm, and I am discouraged by how quickly some slipped into, adapted to, and continued doing harmful behaviors.

I am struck by the isolation of Zen teachers and the lack of peer feedback. Most Zen teachers do not continue to have teachers themselves. They have no "supervision" where they can air their feelings and frustrations, no place to go for peer advice. Perhaps this lies in the structure of practice because the practice awaits some kind of perfectly enlightened being as teacher who does not need these kinds of structures to do good work with students, a person who has no more confusion, doubt, frustration, passion. Is there something to Ariake's claim that the Zen institution set up students to think the teacher was infallible? Perhaps it is not simply student gullibility?

All of the interviewees but one (a student) and all of the resonators except the two students agreed that ultimate

responsibility for situations that arise in the teacher/student relationship lies with the teacher. This does not exonerate students from responsibility. Pat paraphrases Suzuki Roshi, "If you have a problem with your disciple, that's your problem." Because, he says, "the first thing to do when somebody, when your disciple, makes a mistake, is to understand and to appreciate how it's an expression of your true nature before you criticize them." This is, of course, true for the student as well. The difference is that the teacher is guiding the student toward this realization and the practice of it. Teachers can, and must, teach difficult and painful lessons, but must live those lessons themselves. There is a responsibility that goes with the terrain of authority.

Of the three dissenting students, two resonators felt that the responsibility was equally distributed and each person was completely responsible for him/herself. The other student, an interviewee, seemed to lay the ultimate responsibility on the teacher in the interview, but in her response put the responsibility heavily on students owning their own projection.

It is a difficult job to be a teacher; to be the recipient of so much idealization, which can pose a trap. If everyone says how great you are, then it may become easy to believe it. If gratitude is expressed lavishly, you may think that there is something special about you. After all, if

students are grateful, there must be something to be grateful for, no? No. If the institution itself spreads the idea that its teacher(s) are wonderful and enlightened, you may think of yourself as being especially insightful and wise. It is a very difficult archetypal role that the spiritual teacher holds.

As if that were not enough, there are psycho/spiritual models of behavior and human development which point out that the "higher" level of understanding a person reaches, the lower the points on the chakra that get triggered. The deeper the insight, the more basic are the undealtwith needs that crave attention. Simply said, the more light, the bigger the shadow side or darkness. One resonator puts it thus: it is darkest at the foot of the lighthouse.

Hillevi Ruumet (1997) and Kylea Taylor (1995) both describe this phenomenon. Ruumet notes, to go from one chakra to the next higher one must, of necessity, "return" to lower chakras to "clean up one's act." If one tries to bypass the "return," one is likely to get stuck and not pass on to a higher chakra. As the first three chakra centers have to do with physical, and emotional survival, and with power and ego, it is easy to see that what is not worked through at these stages are more basic, primal matters (sexual/relationship issues, financial/greed issues, pleasure/play/joy, trust issues). As one moves into the higher chakras or centers of love, authenticity and creativity, the sage or wisdom, and

towards Divine union, one must continually "clean up" left-over work in the lower chakras. The higher the chakra from which one begins to live, the lower and more primal is the wounding that needs to be taken care of. "Return" work is, for most mortals, never done (pp. 6-24). It is easy to see that especially "clear" or "enlightened" teachers, if they are not willing to do their "return" work, fall prey to those dark shadows, those blind spots in their own development, that may allow they to use unskillful means when working with others. The implication is not only that highly developed teachers can do harm, but that the more "enlightened" one becomes, the more dire the harm one is capable of doing. A scary thought indeed!

Sangha

Betrayal experiences may happen anywhere, but from these stories we can guess that the tolerance of abusive behavior, the lack of communication between members, and anxiety about what the teacher will do and whether one's behavior is "right" and "good," mark a community where authority has run awry, power is misappropriated, and responsibility is relegated, not claimed. These factors contribute to an atmosphere in which harming more easily arises.

In none of the stories was the sangha, or community, a resource for the harmed student or for the teacher. Although all interviewees said in their stories that they could not speak out to the sangha, that fact was not mentioned once in

the responses. It was obvious from the interviews that in none of the stories had the teacher used the sangha for feedback, nor had the teacher encouraged students to question or to "call" the teacher on behaviors or opinions, as one might do with friends. Neglecting to do this does not encourage students to be responsible or discerning, nor to have respect for their own and each others' voices. When teachers did look to the sangha for support, it seemed more in the form of fulfilling work and helping on projects.

Neither were students encouraged to support or nurture each other--not in the physical, spiritual, or intellectual realms. In fact, I am left to wonder whether compassion was talked about as part of practice at all. Some students tried to live according to the precepts, but found them violated in the name of the "Greater Cause" by both the teacher and other students. Even in those few sanghas where there seemed to be more transparency, the members were not willing to support one of their own in the face of their teacher's disagreement. In Morgan's case, the sangha members and teaching peers actually banded together against her. Only Jamie's sangha supported her in setting up other sitting groups, but she, too, did not want to be labeled as someone who "left" the teacher.

In fact, the consequences for those who experienced betrayal were made worse as Lauren says, "by a sangha that does not recognize the shortcomings of the "Roshi." He finds a parallel in family systems within a family that, for

example, won't recognize and openly condemn a sexually abusive father--leaving the daughter with feelings of isolation, self-hate, doubt, and confusion very much like those reported in the stories.

These are not signs of healthy sanghas. What would constitute a healthy sangha at this particular moment in our culture? Some sanghas have written up procedures for those who feel "wronged" or "harmed." These ethical guidelines and grievance procedures provide ways of holding teachers responsible for their actions and require the sangha to listen without judgment to all sides. Such procedures and guidelines are both necessary and helpful. Two teachers in the Resonance Group come from what was considered by the group a healthy sangha, which they described as continually making blunders, but being essentially sound. There, critique and discussion are fostered. Teachers are willing to listen to students' feedback. Disagreements are carried out openly. One of the students in the Resonance Group found that his sangha, with its grievance and reconciliation procedures, was also relatively healthy.

These sanghas have teachers who are open and willing to listen to students. By setting an example and by encouraging students' voices, these teachers are educating the sangha, helping it to find a healthy way of looking at differences, and encouraging students to take responsibility for their own experience and perceptions. The atmosphere of a sangha hinges

on the attitude of the teacher. As long as the teacher remains open, even to his/her own blind spots, the sangha has a chance to be strong and healthy. If the teacher withdraws support for openness or becomes closed and defended, the sangha suffers. It is a system of checks and balances where teachers, sanghas, and students "watch out" for themselves and each other in an interrelated network. The whole sangha is a part of, a knot in Indra's Net, out of which we can neither fall nor extricate ourselves.

So there is student responsibility here also. Of course, in any community there are those who are more mature, self-confident, at ease with confrontation and voicing their opinions. Within Zen practice they will integrate these aspects even more, and discern how to use them compassionately and wisely in supporting and living the Dharma. Then there are those who come to the practice with more "emotional baggage" and are working through psychological and emotional issues. They may not realize it, but they are coming to practice in order to gain ego strength, to know themselves, to become more confident, to trust their own feelings and perceptions, even to be aware of them perhaps for the first time.

One could argue that more "mature" students have more responsibility for themselves and for the community. The question arises whether these students would then move on to other sanghas if they find one that is too "confining." This

would leave less confident sanghas clustered around teachers who do not encourage students to face their demons, because they have not faced their own. In any case, it is noteworthy that sanghas can be relatively healthy and a teacher open and trustworthy, *until* the teacher's blind spot is touched, or the teacher becomes somehow vulnerable. Sanghas are then reluctant to hear what does not fit into their picture of the teacher. Some even refuse to listen, and to some extent this was probably true in all the sanghas included in this study. All the teachers had something solid to teach, and certainly did not start out to intentionally harm students. It is a question of when fuzzy teaching starts, how pervasive it is and whether it is continued or rectified.

The task is to build healthy sanghas, to "grow up" or to educate sangha members to care for themselves, each other, and the teacher. In preserving and nurturing their own practice and spiritual well-being, they also nurture and "defend" the Dharma, and the practice of others as well. In the end, they nurture, support, and defend the teacher.

It is an act of compassion to think discerningly, question behaviors, and stand up for one's experience of the Dharma. This can be taught partly through the efforts of teachers by example and through practice guidance. *And* it may well start before that by reaching potential and beginning students through educative books and talks by both teachers and other students. I am reminded of the Bamboo Acrobats in

the Samyutta Nikaya. There, the teacher tells the pupil to protect him (the teacher) well, and he (the teacher) will protect the pupil well. The pupil replies that won't do, he (the pupil) will take care of himself and the teacher should take of himself and thus they will protect each other and be safe (Kornfield, 1996, p. 88). The healthy student, the healthy sangha, and the healthy teacher grow independent of and dependent upon each other.

One of the resonators, a teacher, pointed out that when Zen practitioners "take refuge in the sangha" that means we take refuge in, or find our home with, all the enlightened Dharma ancestors, and that many students today get confused and consider sangha to mean the Zen practice community they belong to. The point is well-taken. However, we do use the word sangha to mean our practice communities and on a basic level, I believe, Zen practitioners do "take refuge" in the community of struggling Bodhisattvas we all are. Refuge as "to find a home in," is quite different from running to a safe place in order to escape something.

As a Zen student I rest in, I find my home in, the practice itself and the community we refer to as sangha. In that group of practitioners I enjoy support and nurture for my practice. I ask questions of others, I discuss teachings, I learn and grow in understanding, I express appropriately my doubt and my struggles as well as my insights and elation. In a healthy sangha environment there is room for every emotion

and there is help in working with them. There is room for dissent and hope for discerning, compassionate listening - and for right action if needed. It takes everyone's right effort to build such a home.

Aftermath and Healing

Om Mani Peme Hung
Tibetan Great Compassion Mantra

For a majority of the interviewees 10, 15, or more years have elapsed since their experience with their teacher, although for one person it has been about 5 years. The reader can discern from the stories that some interviewees feel "sturdier" than others, and they seem to have "rallied" more quickly. But all described their experiences with similar words and phrases. They were devastated and heartbroken. They were angry and confused. They were saddened. Several mentioned either suicidal thoughts or suicide attempts. They lost confidence in themselves as people and as students of the Dharma. Their practice was lost or disrupted. Their connection to the Divine was shaken or interrupted. Their ability to trust was subverted. Some are suffering still from the consequences of that wounding. I would venture to say that all are, in some way, still touched by their experience and have been inexorably changed by it.

Although some recovered themselves relatively quickly, all needed at least a year to begin "functioning" again. Most needed much longer to regain some self-esteem, confidence, and a measure of trust and hope. Some are still struggling with

those issues, even as Zen teachers. Perhaps the experience has made them more sensitive, aware, and compassionate teachers. Half of the interviewees still spoke tentatively and with great hesitancy, as though there was a sense of fear around the interview. In these cases there was a noticeable tendency to take upon themselves the full responsibility for what happened, or at the very least to minimize the traumatic affects in their lives and psyches.

The ability to trust others is still a struggle for many interviewees. This makes itself noticeable in relationships with partners, with new teachers, and even with themselves. If one's self-confidence is low, it means one cannot trust one's self, one's perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. Trusting one's self, overcoming self-doubt, is something that many interviewees are still re-learning.

The experience wreaked havoc with some interviewees' Zen practice. It is no small thing when serious practitioners are so disturbed that they cannot practice. Some readers may say, "Well, they came back the stronger for it." This may be true for some of the interviewees, but perhaps not for all. Two people have lost their practice. One quarter of this small sample have lost their connection to the practice and possibly to the Divine. Two are struggling bravely to rebuild their practice and two more are still wrestling with self-doubt, especially in respect to their meditation experience. That means that fully three quarters of those interviewed are

still, after 10 years, experiencing the fallout from the wounding which took place in the teacher/student relationship. If this is any indication of what has happened to the many others, it is nothing short of shocking.

From an outer perspective it has been most difficult for Ariake because she lost her "profession" as a Buddhist nun, losing her spiritual home not only in the teacher and sangha, but in the spiritual order as well. In addition, her energy-work practice, which was closely connected with her practice community, has suffered greatly, causing her financial setback as well. Although she has managed to live from dana (donations) for her work, it has been difficult to make ends meet. Simply working on her story brought momentary suicidal ideation. Clearly she has yet to recover emotionally, physically, financially, and spiritually from her experience.

Lee, too, has had a difficult time spiritually. Although she has been able to commit to another relationship, she has no desire to even attend any spiritual event. Something has "snapped" in regard to the Divine and we do not know if it will become "whole" again. Meanwhile, Lee has been writing about her experience and hopes to publish the result. Through writing and therapy, she has been able to reclaim her life.

Two interviewees went on to become psychotherapists, partially as a response to their experience, and one already was a clinical psychologist. The practice of therapy and the study of psychology proved enormously beneficial to them.

Seven of the eight interviewees used therapy to help them heal. Because interviewees' perceptions were continuously negated, they needed "unconditional positive regard" from a third party to begin to accept their own perceptions. In the absence of sangha recognition, being heard and believed by others was crucial in working through their experience. This was especially important because that which could most easily have facilitated healing remained withheld--their teachers' admission that, indeed, something had transpired between them for which the teacher also had responsibility. Referring to James Hillman's arguments in the Literature Review (p. 106), we see that as long as that admission is withheld, the betrayal is still going on. Hillman even doubts whether full forgiveness can take place without that recognition from the betrayer. The painfulness of Hillman's insight cuts deep when considering the interviewees and their stories.

It is impossible to relay the pain of these experiences. The written word, the condensed stories, cannot reflect the breaks in voices, the expressions of faces, the looks in eyes, the tentative, careful tone of story-telling. These are stories with "positive endings," for the most part, about those who have more or less skillfully worked with their experience. Many recognized the need for looking at their own shadow. They wanted to know the "truth" of what happened. Their courage to look and learn is humbling and awesome, an expression of beginner's mind. While we talk, they allude

quietly to others they know who are not so lucky. Their concern for those people and for those who are still being influenced by unskillful teaching is deep and authentic. The compassion and understanding evidenced by the interviewees even for their former teachers is also remarkable.

I found it noteworthy that the women *expressed* this compassion, whereas the men did not. New theories of women's development based on the studies of Carol Gilligan, *In A Different Voice* (1982), and Brown and Gilligan, *Meeting At The Crossroads* (1992), and the Stone Center, emphasize the role of connection in women's lives and development. I wonder if this is an example of that desire for connection. What role does connection play in withdrawing from harmful situations? Are women more liable to be harmed in "power over" situations? I wonder if the inner process of zazen practice differs for women, if their experience differs? Would women benefit from a different form of practice? That would be a study in itself.

In order to get the facts of the stories condensed into a few pages, the processes linking these factual pieces were often sacrificed. The subtleties which make the stories more believable, and which elicit compassion and empathy were often lost. It may have been wiser to have used my own descriptive narrative than to have insisted on letting each interviewee's words speak the story. This resulted in "bits and bites," perhaps obscuring the humanity.

Most of the interviewees said in their story or response that they missed sangha support in their healing process. It would have helped had they been heard and taken seriously by their peers, especially as they were not heard by their teachers. Some managed to turn to family or close friends, but many did not even tell their spouse or significant other what had happened. Perhaps because of the nature of practice, it would be easier to talk about these things with other practitioners than with those not practicing. For another, it is important to be validated, or at least heard, by witnesses, or those close to the scene of distress. In that case, a talking through might have avoided deeper wounding and encouraged a smoother, deeper healing for those in this study. Unfortunately, this option was closed to them.

It must be noted here that most of the interviewees did not "take refuge in the dharma" in the immediate sense of turning to the teachings to find relief. This may have been due to the disruption of everything that had to do with practice, the loss of a teacher, and the isolation from the place of practice and those participating in the practice. Still, had they been well-taught, it would be a likely expectation. Were they not able to discern between the teacher, the whole experience and the teachings? I think not. If they had been at that point in practice, they would not have had the experience they did. At the moment of betrayal, the teacher as Divine stand-in was still too powerful. In my

experience, to doubt the teacher influenced my ability to practice, at least in the formal sense. I questioned the Zen path. Why would I then take refuge in the practice? (Still, like some interviewees, I could not stop thinking about the teachings, and I did practice daily, although not on the cushion. Others went through similar scenarios.) To doubt the teacher was to doubt what the teacher saw in me, why believe my own perceptions now? It takes a while to sort that out, to begin to trust one's self again. That is just the point that this study is making. That basic trust and the trust to the Divine, which are one and the same, are shattered or badly wounded. It is no wonder to me that most interviewees did not immediately turn to the teachings and the practice for solace.

Ultimately, six of the eight did return to the practice and the teachings, realizing their preciousness. That says a great deal about people's relationship and devotion to the practice.

Conclusions

> Where love rules, there is no will to power;
> and where power predominates, there love is lacking.
> The one is the shadow of the other.
> Carl Jung

I would like to thank the interviewees and the resonance group for being the architects of the conclusion. The resonance group was so much in tune with the experiences of the interviewees--empathizing with the experiences, feeling saddened and appalled at teachers' behavior, and magnifying

and expanding on interviewees' insights and suggestions--that a weaving together of ideas for the conclusion was compassionately facilitated. I want to express my gratitude for this collaborative work.

What is thought provoking is the voice of the two resonance group students who thought that the student was just as responsible as the teacher in betrayal situations. After disagreeing with that view, they had little to say, of course, about the structure of Zen, issues of power and authority, or any other related issue. Their view is shared by many in the Zen community, I am sure. It is a valid point of view and reveals that the Zen community does not think alike on this topic.

The betraying experience arises from the confluence of the many things which define the student, the sangha and the teacher. There is no denying the joint responsibility in these experiences. Sad is the fact that we most often appreciate our own responsibility, whether teacher, student, or sangha, after the fact. Though we all were to be optimally responsible, it is still likely that such situations would arise.

Until we all attain a high level of understanding, it will be impossible to avoid betrayal experiences. They are inherent in every trust situation, in every situation where we love deeply. The important thing is perhaps not so much that betraying happens, but how it is acknowledged and how we care

for each other in the wake of it. The act that solidified the feeling of being betrayed was, in most stories, the inability of the teacher to meet the student in the moment of the student's challenge. When the student questions the teacher, it means that the student is aware of and trusting in his/her own feelings and perceptions. We may say that the student has a responsibility to him/herself in this moment to remain true to those perceptions. Likewise, the teacher has a responsibility in this moment to acknowledge the student's perceptions and to notice his/her own emotional response.

Sometimes the student is incapable of remaining in the truth of his/her perceptions, especially if the teacher negates them instead of acknowledging them. If the teacher remains in the teaching role by attending to the situation and thereby teaching the student further, the teacher can change the outcome of the situation. Teaching by doing would be to accept the projection, to own what is truly his/her own, and to reflect the rest back to the student. This defuses the situation, allows the student enough safety to claim his/her projection if possible, and encourages talking through the situation with compassion. This may take many discussions and much patience on both sides, but it goes along with the responsibility of teaching.

The ability to respond in this way reflects how well the teacher has done his/her own psychological work. Attending to the personal shadow and its returning cycles is the work of a

lifetime. To paraphrase Hillevi Ruumet's Helical Model, it is not possible to work towards transpersonal values with power-based means. If we were to talk in the language of chakras, we cannot have fourth chakra, heart-based, compassionate values and operate from an egoic, third chakra, power-based personality. In addition, we must remember that remnants of each chakra or stage remain with us over our lifetime. It is these recurring bits of shadow that set traps for us. In the moment we think we have finally gotten the upper hand, lies the moment of blindness (Ruumet, 1997, pp. 6-24). This occurs for both teachers and students. In terms of human development using comparative stages from Maslow, Kohlberg, Piaget, Loevinger, and Kegan, we cannot operate in stages four/five when we have not yet mastered stage three (Kegan, 1982, pp. 118-227).

According to Kegan in *The Evolving Self*, we return again and again to our life issues, spiraling around them as we grow and mature. We may approach the issues from a different perspective, but the core issues remain the same. He also says, as we mature developmentally we alternately work from a place of connection or a place of individuality. Hillevi Ruumet (1997) in her article "Pathways of the Soul" uses the same chakra system as is laid out by Kylea Taylor in *The Ethics Of Caring* (1995) and using a "helix model" suggests the same thing as does Kegan (1982): we keep coming back to the same issues as we mature spiritually. Each time we reach a

higher chakra, or deepen our spiritual experience, Ruumet says, we are confronted with the unresolved developmental/ psychological issues from corresponding lower chakras. The higher the chakra from which we operate, the lower the chakra issues we confront. The deeper our spiritual experience, the more basic our shadow issues will be.

In such a system, a person operating from the fifth chakra, the truth chakra, would have these longings: "to be a conduit for spiritual truth, to speak and act with integrity, to be free of convention" (Taylor, 1995, p. 77), and these fears: "of punishment, criticism, responsibility, and being unmasked" (p. 77). In this inner landscape, according to Ruumet (1997), such a person would be faced with the issues in the second chakra, or sex/relationship chakra. The longings in this chakra are for: "regenerative energy, physical expression, physical touch, sexual contact," and the fears are: "of transformative energy, touching, sexual contact" (Taylor, 1995, p. 77). Even more transformative experience may send us back to issues around basic security, manifesting in questionable behavior about money. Ruumet's and Taylor's point of agreement here, is that spirituality and psychological growth are intertwined and cannot be teased apart.

Many Zen practitioners may not agree that psychology has any place in our practice; but rather hold that the practice itself is enough. The meditative quality of the East has much

to offer the Western culture. Yet the psychological quality of the West has as much to offer Eastern cultures. Indeed, the East is already importing psychology from the West. Taking the wisdom from both, being open to what each can offer on the path to awakening is a chance we cannot afford to pass up. We must forge a balance, a Middle Way. When we awaken, we awaken to the all of it/It.

As one resonator, a teacher, pointed out, the stories left him devastated. Even psychotherapy, he said, often does not touch our characterological "holes." Wonderful Zen teachers he knows have these holes, and the more therapy they have, the more unaware of these holes they become. They begin to use therapy to justify what they do. This resonator concludes with the very statement I had come to myself. "It's not really so much the experiences we have that are important--enlightenment or otherwise--but it really is the internal moral dimension," he says, "the internal process of really facing one's own narcissism, one's own capacity for malevolence and exploitation and having a kind of inward turning, a change of heart." He further explains that, "Neither psychotherapy nor Zen practice really addresses this coming to an awareness of this deepest strata of what it means to be good, to do good, and to forsake evil."

My own experience of Zen practice has been exactly of this profound change of heart of which he speaks. I believe it lies at the core of practice, indeed is the very essence of

practice. I named it "shifting," a "cracking open" when I spoke of it to my teacher. I think meditation practice offers us the key to this attitude and psychology offers us the tools to "embody" the experience of that attitude. When this shifting never stops, that is the mark of a true shift in attitude: one is always open to the next shift, indeed longs for it, with a "right longing" not a grasping desire.

Looking at East and West, we may need to ask ourselves hard questions about the way Zen is practiced in the West. Our psychology will not automatically "fit" the Eastern cultures which import it. Just as surely, Zen practice will not automatically "fit" the Western culture. We may have to face the possibility that Zen practice grew in a time and place where the populace was living from the second (relationship) chakra and that we have moved the practice into a culture living mostly from the third chakra, or from a power oriented base. We do not react to authority in the same way as relationship-based cultures, neither as students, nor as teachers.

In the governmental systems in Europe and the European populace in general there are at least the remnants of "noblesse oblige," nobility obligates. It is the idea that those with power, influence, and wealth have a moral obligation to society. European societal systems reflect some of that thinking in their policies. In America the nobility is replaced by the wealthy, but there is little sense of

obligation in those who "have" for those who have less. We see this institutionally mainly in the reluctance to more evenly distribute taxes, and in the fact that we do not have adequate health insurance or health care for all members of society. We see it in the increasingly crass differences in income, in privilege, in the way unemployment and social services are distributed. We see it in the justice and prison systems. We have lost the sense of relationship. We have moved out of the second, relationship based chakra. We have not yet moved to the fourth chakra of love and compassion which brings us back into relationship from a different perspective. We are, for the moment, a power-based, third chakra society.

Why am I writing about betrayal at the very moment that so much betrayal of power is manifesting in our society? Synchronicity? Dependent co-arising? Bill Clinton betrays his Office, and his wife and daughter. The Olympic committee betrays the athletes and the values of the Olympic tradition. The United States betrays the United Nations and the Iraqi people by smuggling spies into observer groups. The U. S. military system betrays Europeans by allowing a pilot to go scot free after causing a ski-resort cable car to fall onto a mountain slope, killing those riding in it. The U. S. government betrays its citizens and those of Guatemala by supporting a regime which terrorized and killed the Guatemalan

populace, all the while knowing what was going on, but denying any knowledge publicly. At the moment the Europeans are challenging the U. S. on its policy. Where is the voice of the U. S. citizen? Do the assumptions that seem to go with power in this country work from the top down, or the bottom up? Or is it a cycle with no top or bottom anymore? Or an interrelated, dynamic happening? Is there any "who" betraying "whom?"

In the same sense I would suggest that both students and teachers in Western Zen practice may have lost sight of the sacredness that the position of authority held in the East. That would bring us back to the need for the deep shift in the internal moral dimension mentioned above. Only in that deep willingness for inner exploration and knowing do we recognize the sacred relationship between all sentient beings and all things. Only there do we understand into our very genes that we not only are unique and special, *but that we are also the same as the rest of creation, the same as our neighbor, and absolutely nothing special!* Only then do we recognize the sacred responsibility that comes with power, with knowing, the responsibility for ourselves and others, and ultimately for "the whole of it." The paradox of that is: we are responsible for none of it, but Buddhism does not suggest a life of inaction, or any old action, or debauchery. It teaches right action.

In a position of authority, when there is a sacred obligation of non-harming that comes from a far deeper knowing than the "simple" effort to live according to the precepts, there can be no willful misuse of power. The desire to know one's self so well that one will not willfully or inadvertently misuse authority is so powerful that the chance of misusing it is minimized. What is perhaps more important still, is that the desire not to harm, the desire to use skillful means, allows for a willingness to connect to others even in the pain of one's own possible misuse of authority or other mistakes.

This deep knowing will not allow us to disconnect from those we may harm, or from those who act unskillfully with us. The deep harming that occurred in the stories reported in this research came from the disconnect between teacher and student. The students' desire for connection even in the recognition that something was amiss in the relationship may, or may not, have come from this deep inner knowing. As a teacher, though, I have a sacred obligation to every student and to myself and to all those Dharma/Sangha ancestors, the Buddha, and the Dharma in whom/which we all take refuge, to cultivate that deep knowing. Our practice gives us the tools for that cultivation.

It is important to note that the deep harming as a result of these experiences cannot be emphasized enough. It is the most important understanding to come from this study and I

hope that readers have become keenly aware of it. Our connection to the Divine is both our strength and our vulnerability. Like an exquisite, hand-blown glass object, both beautiful and fragile, it can crack under pressure or be shattered in an instant. Tibetan tradition admonishes that to willfully destroy or break another's connection to the Divine influences one's karma for many lifetimes. Only when we in the Zen community have touched the deep pain in these stories will our intentions become well tempered and move us to skillful action.

Zazen and psychotherapy complement each other in working through issues of power and authority. Together they can illumine other issues also, such as ideation, transference, counter-transference, etc.

Aside from the issue of psychology, other facets of Zen practice can be looked at in light of the East/West translation. Questions about the structure of Zen practice came up numerous times from both interviewees and resonators. There was a legitimate argument from Ariake that there was an institutional component to idealization. The center she studied at touted the "Roshi" as infallible, as deeply enlightened, a special person, thus encouraging her own willingness to idealize.

This is not uncommon. Is this attitude encouraged by the way we practice? Do teachers think of themselves as special or different? Such an attitude, even if unspoken, can be

toxic. After I had received transmission, an old practice friend came to see me. He was in the middle of explaining something about his feelings to me when he stopped in mid sentence. "Well, I guess I don't have to explain that to you anymore," he said. "Why not," I asked? "Because you know that, you can 'see' what I'm thinking." I exploded in laughter, but I quickly turned serious. After 10 years of living at the center and maybe 15 years of practice, this middle-aged man could sit there in all seriousness and think that I could read his mind! Where do these ideas take root, and how are they nurtured in our practice? Does Zen, the institutionalized Zen world, see itself as special, different?

Do the ritual, the attire of monks and priests and teachers contribute to the picture of authority and power? Students think that ordination robes and a shaved head means something special about those people. Many students seem to believe it is not Zen-like to show emotions. What place do teachings about difficult emotions have in our practice? Does the Middle Way exclude or eliminate feelings? Why are so many practitioners unkind to themselves in their practice? It seems that Zen practice can lose sight of compassion when caught up with the concern for the details of daily practice. How does compassion look in the strict, rigid, strenuous framework of sesshin? Are we too much into "ordeal as path," as Ariake put it? Why, within scrubbed and aesthetic surrounds, do we so often find dour-looking, muted

practitioners? Are some of these things remnants of Japanese culture that have little or nothing to do with Zen practice and have a much different "flavor" in American culture?

Even the teachings can be misused so easily. If everything is just as it should be, if all things are ultimately okay, why should we take any action at all? Or worry about the actions we do take? If nothing is real, if everything is our projection, the point in so many of these stories, where does that leave us in terms of the precepts? Do teachers encourage us to know answers through our own understanding, helping us to clarify and interpret the teachings without holding "the Truth"? Zen schools have a history of stretching the teachings, rationalizing them to fit the needs of the state and of society. Rationalization manages to compromise compassion. Brian Victoria describes this minutely in his book *Zen at War* (1997). Some of our Zen ancestors greatly compromised the precepts by interpreting them to fit their [and the Zen tradition's] needs. In some of the stories we have been reading we see rationalization at work on a "local," or personal scale.

As far as teachings go, a major disadvantage in Zen practice is the lack of teaching, *early on in the practice*, about the precepts. Emphasis on a student's understanding and practice of the precepts is a way of building, and monitoring, ego strength. The lack of emphasis on the practices of metta, karuna, mudita, and upekkha (loving-kindness, compassion,

sympathetic joy, and equanimity) known collectively as the brahma viharas is another weak spot in Zen practice. These basic teachings are not so directly taught in many Zen communities, yet they are basic to understanding the practice and how to live it daily. Among the Buddhist traditions, Zen is the practice that eschews the direct teachings of the Buddha in favor of the teachings of its own famous Zen teachers. In some centers this has changed or is changing, in others it has yet to take hold. This change should be encouraged.

Another structural problem which bears looking at is the way teachers are chosen and trained. This was the topic that captured the attention of the resonance group. What, in the structure of Zen, allows people with "characterological holes" to become teachers? How can it happen, as it often does, that the sangha has huge reservations about someone who is being groomed to become a teacher, but the teacher offering transmission either disregards or doesn't even ask for sangha opinion? The teacher may see the spiritual depth in a person, but peers may see whole different psycho-emotional aspects of that person. Students can easily show the teacher what the teacher wants to see! Is there a role for the sangha and especially for other teachers in choosing or validating the choice of up-and-coming teachers?

Resonance group teachers took up the point of Dharma transmission--not, however, in light of the one woman teacher

in the stories who still teaches without having been given the authority to do so. (This is not something that she, or her sangha community, puts out "up front" so that new students are aware of it.) In some traditions there is talk of a person having transmission from the teacher, transmission from one's self, and transmission from the sangha. Teachers have to live by what they say. One teacher reported that despite grave concerns from the sangha, the teacher in his tradition "went ahead and appointed people anyway. It's still happening today." If the teacher says that sangha transmission is important, then the teacher needs to stand by that and listen to the sangha. "We [teachers] have to be living what we are teaching," he maintained. Others agreed.

A second teacher spoke up at that point and relayed that she had been castigated for saying just that at a teacher's meeting. Her call for teachers to live what they teach was met, by one person at least, with, "I, as a Zen person, am going to be poetic and do whatever I want to do out of my enlightened mind." This was considered "Dharma bullshit" by the teacher telling the story, and the group did not contradict her. One teacher of many years said plainly, "I think some kind of teacher accountability in very plain, everyday terms is what I find by going back to the early sutras and getting some sense of the Buddha's own voice." Writing this, I realize that many teachers may disagree with this standpoint. In an ultimate sense, if a person is

totally, deeply enlightened, s/he would be able to teach from enlightened mind. In theory, I agree. However, looking at today's teachers, I feel that this is hubris. There are very, very few people on the planet who might possibly fill the bill.

The group rejected the idea that just being a good diligent practitioner, or that going through a teacher training was enough qualification to become a teacher. Just a really vivid enlightenment experience was "certainly not" enough either. Is some combination of those things enough? What *are* the prerequisite criteria for becoming a Zen teacher? Input from other teachers and the sangha were important they felt, the "wisdom of several minds coming together." There is, to date, no consensus in the Zen tradition on the qualifications for becoming a Zen teacher.

"Heresy, my dear, heresy," said one of the teachers to me in a phone conversation not too long ago. I had just suggested the possibility of specific training for Zen teachers. There are teachers who will disagree with this suggestion and with parts of, or even this whole research inquiry. Nevertheless, ours must have been a meeting of resonance group heretics, because the idea of training came into the conversation from all the teachers in the discussion. It was suggested that teachers learn about transference/ countertransference, gender issues, power and authority, money, and even group process before they begin teaching.

These issues are not part of traditional Zen teacher training, which seems to vary greatly from teacher to teacher and from tradition to tradition. Such topics need to be covered in general teacher training. In addition, on-going teacher training should be encouraged. These ideas were echoed by an interviewee/teacher who suggested that Zen teachers follow the lead of mainline denominations, begin to consider themselves professionals, and set up ethical standards, grievance procedures, and seminary-type training in precepts, transference, sexual harassment, and so forth. These trainings must include ordained practitioners as well as teachers.

These are important issues for individual students and sanghas as well. One does not need to be a clinician or therapist to understand the basic workings of these dynamics. Awareness is the essence of practice. It is always easy to fall into self-deception, and in working with altered states and meditation we must be especially careful. Workshops and trainings bring parts of ourselves into awareness and teach us how to work with what we become aware of. In this we could learn much from Jack Kornfield's Vipassana teacher training and from some of the marvelously crafted Tibetan practices for emotions and psychological traps. In both Tibetan and Vipassana practice there is room for the "dark side." Is there room for that dark shadow side in Zen practice?

Another problematic aspect in the structure of Zen practice is the push for "enlightenment." This is especially noticeable in Rinzai traditions with koan study, but it seems to be pervasive in Zen practice. There are some teachers, however, who emphasize the long-term, subtle unfolding of "knowing" and the beauty of the life-long practice of silent illumination. In this kind of atmosphere there is less competition, less looking to see who might "have it" and who doesn't. There is less of a "gaining" idea that creeps into people's practice. Zen as a life-long venture, as a "beautiful way to live" as one resonator said, might be usefully emphasized more in practice centers.

It would be helpful to seriously consider ways of providing a peer feedback community for teachers. The structure of Zen practice does not provide this, and unless there is a large center, many Zen teachers teach in isolation. However, it must be noted that one can teach in isolation even in a group set-up if there is no construct for intentional feedback. After Zen teachers begin to teach, most have no teacher themselves anymore. They have no spiritual or psycho-emotional "supervision." There is no one to give honest, strong feedback on Dharma talks, or on behavior to those who are "out of line in certain aspects of their precept development," as one resonator/teacher put it. There is no one to guide, give encouragement, or make suggestions. This permission to speak to each other about what one sees, with

intentionality, is hard to find in meetings of Zen teachers, in the opinion of another resonance group teacher. The contention was that in meetings which included some Zen teachers along with teachers from other traditions, it seems to be found more readily.

In the future this lack of feedback needs to change, and probably will, said one resonator. In what way that will take place, was not discussed. It is an important issue. Both teachers and students would benefit enormously from this kind of peer feedback loop and from teachers being willing to look to still another teacher for guidance and encouragement.

In conjunction with this issue, encouraging students to go to different teachers would take the focus off the teacher/student relationship. This is more difficult to do in the Rinzai tradition where one works so closely with the teacher doing koan work. Nevertheless, it can be, and sometimes is, done. [It is interesting to note here that no one in either group mentioned the intimacy of transcendent experience as an issue between teacher and student. They did not mention transcendent experience at all, except at the very end when one teacher expressed a discomfort with "the mystical side of Zen." I did not ask about these experiences directly and might have gotten a response had I asked. It *was* a question held in the Literature Review.]

Structurally, most students stay with one teacher for the duration of their Zen studies. We need to encourage students

to shop around for teachers to study with. When they pick one, they should be encouraged to "spy" on that teacher for at least several months, and preferably longer. The tradition of the Dalai Lama suggests spying for 12 years! This certainly gives the impression that the practice is for a life-time! This would not be feasible in the West, especially in this day and age, but it cannot hurt to take time choosing a teacher. Conversely, the teacher needs to allow for a waiting period, not automatically take on a student for fear of hurting the student's feelings, or of losing the student.

Another crucial structural aspect is the role of the sangha, which may be quite different from the role of past, or even present, Buddhist communities in Asia. One resonator/teacher pointed to the sanghas in the stories and at the use of teachings to manipulate students into satisfying the "narcissistic," "pathological" needs of the teacher. He continues, "The precepts and refuges are good, but they don't get to the unconscious process. They're very important. They state our intention. They get us charted in the right direction. But," he says, "they don't get to the unconscious individual or relational dynamics with the teacher. And they don't get to the crazy shit that goes on in groups." Teachers are really unaware of group dynamics. That's "where the blind spots are really clicking." We should be willing to "use consultants to help sanghas get to the shadow sides of groups, the underlying psychotic craziness in groups."

Although it was not discussed in depth, there was general agreement that work could be done to encourage and strengthen healthy sanghas. Sanghas could become resources, clearer mirrors for the teacher, and for individual students. They must be included in teacher feedback loops. They must become a home and a safe haven for all practitioners, including those who have felt harmed. The sangha sets the tone in which the practice takes place. If we were to look at the sangha in a systems theory sense, or as a family system we might see the enormous power in the role of teacher. We might see that the smallest change in any member shifts the dynamic of the whole. We might see a whole sangha as part of the larger Zen family or Zen system. In that case, the structural aspects we have been discussing take on profound meaning. Each sangha is a microcosm, a hologram of the whole Zen complex. Each sangha is a member of the Zen clan, as dysfunctional and as healthy as the whole. Truly, we are all in it together.

The teachers in the resonance group were surprised at the use of the term Roshi in many of the stories. They wondered that even after feeling betrayed, interviewees could say Roshi when speaking of their teacher. The term "Roshi" and how we use it in Zen practice in the West needs to be looked at. In Japan it is traditionally a term of respect and not a term of endearment, or intimacy. The fact that some teachers even refer to themselves as Roshi, as if it were a name and not a title, was talked about. The way we use it here in the West,

says one resonator/teacher, seems to be a way to "tolerate a kind of tension between seeing the person in an archetypal way, over against seeing a human being who's flawed..." This "plays right into the American psyche." "They're getting what they want from using a name," says another resonator. Roshi as it is used in the West, "It's not just a title, it's an attitude...," responds a third resonator/teacher.

As one interviewee said, more rules won't help. We have to have the shift in attitude as discussed above, a "being shift," not a "doing shift." An "internal, being shift" is what is needed, an internal moral development. It's very "square," said one resonator, but everything rests on it. Out of a deep inner shift coming from an individual's willingness to see clearly what their nature is, comes a relational willingness. Basically a willingness to express oneself, to take the risk of being "unmasked," of being "seen," of getting feedback. Otherwise, interjects a resonator/teacher, anything we might undertake will be a "cosmetic change in the reverse direction. We could have our own pride or lunacy that's connected with that." "And we cannot legislate inner moral development, or reform of the heart," replies someone else. I would call this not "square," but "radical."

Our discussion ended on a sober note. "I've given up on publicity or education for teachers. It's knocking on a closed door." Those who are of a mind to educate and train themselves are already doing it. Those who are not, will not

be moved. The slim possibilities for reform were lamented by several people in both groups. Whether the situation now is similar to that of 10 or more years ago when most of these stories took place, one teacher wanted to know? The teacher/interviewees in this study, and especially one in the discussion group, seemed to feel that things had not improved. A cause of concern is also that there are numbers of people teaching Zen who have never gotten permission to teach, like one teacher in this study. Just the permission to teach is not a guarantee of a teacher's capabilities, as we have seen, and to have no credentialing may be no proof that a teacher is incapable. The general consensus seemed to be that the best chance for education lies in publicity. Going public in Buddhist publications and in the book market would help educate new seekers on the spiritual path, and help practitioners to become strong, inquiring students--"good" students in a different sense than the "good" student those in these stories strove to be.

One interviewee/teacher felt it was important to write openly about betrayal issues--and others we have discussed here--in Buddhist publications and to hold workshops. Secrecy perpetuates the problem(s). We must encourage and support the people who are coming in the door to trust themselves and their experience, and to listen to their own questions. Even the most traditional Dharma teaching accepts bringing an

examining, investigative mind into the practice as legitimate and valid. There lies the hope of education and publicity.

In the betrayal situations looked at in this study, it is not only the student who experiences betrayal. Everyone is harmed: the teacher, the student, and the sangha. In the intricacies of Indra's net, everything affects the whole. Even if the private situation between teacher and student is not made public, the repercussions are felt, however slightly, by the whole community. The energy of tension, strain, suffering, disappointment, depression, loss of self-esteem, cannot go unnoticed by the sangha. The abrupt and silent departures of committed students may not be disruptive in the same way as communal outrage at revealed harmful behavior by the teacher, but it nonetheless leaves its legacy. The teacher too, is harmed. Aside from the karma collected by harming behavior, the teacher may be kept from knowing shadow parts of him/herself which energy could be used non-harmingly. Unless the teacher is in absolute, total denial, s/he must also be terribly wounded by the student's accusations, loss of trust, questionings, and the revelations of dark aspects of him/herself. S/he, too, lives isolated in his/her own dark secrets, harmed and helpless in recovery. Teacher, student, and sangha flounder in the dark, all the while holding their own lamp.

In light of the deep and long-lasting wounding that has become evident in this research, how can we not look carefully

into the contributing factors? It is our sacred obligation as Zen practitioners not only to wake up, but to stay awake. It is the very essence of our practice. Staying awake may be harder than waking up. We must use every unskillful act to learn how to become more skillful, every narcissistic slip to become more compassionate.

As Sharon Salzburg tells us, "There are two ways to approach the practice of morality: through developing greater awareness of our motivations and through commitment to the five precepts" (1995, p. 190). All karma rests on motivation, so it is important to "become increasingly aware of the intentions that drive our actions" (p. 190). Salzburg explains further:

> Having some intuitive sense of karma--an understanding that our happiness and unhappiness depend on our actions, and that therefore we are ultimately responsible for our fate--shifts our life into a place of empowerment. If we understand that all things, all things whatsoever, arise due to a cause, then we understand safety. Thus,when we see suffering, conflict, danger, pain, or a problem arise in our life, we do not merely try to eliminate it. Rather, we courageously change the conditions that provide the ground for its arising and that support or maintain its existence. ... suffering is only a combination of conditions. If we change the conditions, we change the problem; if we alter the cause, we alter the effect. (1995, p. 187)

If I were to make one recommendation, it would be for different Zen traditions to form an on-going working committee which would make it their sacred obligation to meet regularly for however long it took, to talk this whole topic through and to recommend possible ways to "change the conditions" or

"alter the cause." We would then "alter the effect." If we do not do this voluntarily, we may be forced to do it in the future.

In the meantime, may we each work for good where it can be affected: in our own lives, both inner and outer, where our lives touch others.

Perhaps Morgan summed it all up nicely. "We Zennies have to stop thinking of ourselves as special," she said. Indeed.

After writing the first draft of the dissertation to the end, I went for a talk with the Zen teacher who had helped me find the interviewees and who has helped and supported me through the whole dissertation process. We sat in her garden and talked about the discussion in the Resonance Group. As we were nearing the end of our talk, she asked me where I was in my process. After reading my betrayal description, she wanted to know whether I was going to teach. I said that in writing the dissertation I had found my voice and that it had become clear to me that I really wanted to teach. "Good," she said. "I just wanted to make sure." As we walked out of the garden I offered the information that, "When we met as a resonance group, I really felt among peers. It felt good." "Good!" she replied. It is *good! What a long way from the beginnings of this almost 9 years ago. I cannot express what that affirmation from a teacher for whom I have great respect, a teacher in my own tradition, worked in me. It supported what*

I have come to know about myself. I am grateful. I am grateful for the good Zen teaching I have had, and for all *my teachers.*

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Appendix A

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Dear Addressee,

You are receiving this letter via ________. I do not know your name or address and so cannot address you properly. I am a Ph.D. student at the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology in Palo Alto, CA, and am writing a dissertation on the effects on students of having felt betrayed by their teacher in the teacher/student relationship in Zen-Buddhism. ______ has been helping me this past year and a half, discussing this subject with me at length. She has selected you and several other people she has worked with on this issue who, she feels, would be appropriate participants for my research and has agreed to send all of you this introductory letter. This maintains your anonymity unless you choose to disclose it to me by showing your interest in participating. All names and sources of information in this study will be kept confidential.

You are invited to participate in, or co-research, an organic study to illuminate the experience of betrayal as felt by students in the Zen-Buddhist teacher/student relationship. By describing the experience itself, the study hopes to reveal the different types of betrayal that can occur and the different ways they can happen. By telling the story of the "aftermath," the effects on the life and well-being of the student, the study hopes to reveal the meaning-making process of those betrayed, touching the minds and hearts of Zen teachers and students alike, precipitating understanding and compassion for the wounding that can happen. By meeting and discussing the experience and the psychological/emotional/ practical repercussions, the study hopes to support a healing transformation in the researcher, co-researchers and readers.

Participation involves one meeting (approx. 1 1/2 hrs.) between the researcher and the participant (co-researcher). This will take place at a time and location convenient to both. During this interview session you will be asked to describe the stated experience, the effect it had on your life, and the meaning, if any, you have been able to make of it for yourself. From this narrative the researcher will write-up the "story". The story will be returned to you, the co-researcher, to check for accuracy of interpretations and understanding. When all the stories are finished (there will be eight all together), each co-researcher will be asked to read all the stories and then comment on his/her feelings and insights in the form of a two-page, written "reflection". The reflections become part of the analysis. Within four months of the initial interview I will expect to have the final

stories returned to you for reading and to have received your written reflections on them.

This study is not about blame or accusation. Names of teachers, students, and centers are superfluous to the study. The experience itself is important. The intimacy and privacy of each experience and co-researcher is sacred and will be honored. The source of all information is confidential and your identity will be protected. Tapes from the interview meeting, the transcripts, and all written material pertaining to this study will be kept in locked files and accessed only by the researcher. The transcriber of the interview tapes will not be connected to the Zen community, will be a reputable transcriber and will be asked to keep confidentiality. In the interviews we will not use teachers' names, nor the names of centers. You will have a fictitious name in the written stories and throughout the study. In any published material, information that might identify you will be altered to protect your anonymity, that of your teacher, and the center involved. You will have ample opportunity to change anything that feels uncomfortable when you review my distillation of your story.

Organic research has as a goal the transformation of researcher, co-researchers, and readers alike. It sees the research process and the shared experiences of all involved as sacred, interconnected, and co-arising. It thrives on the input of all involved and offers support and understanding, respect and unconditional positive regard to all involved. As a result, you may experience healing, deepening perception, more complete assimilation, or the satisfaction of sharing with and supporting others. This may encourage a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of your experience and enhance your feeling of well-being.

The emotional content of this study and the disclosure of your experience might also cause a degree of anxiety or anger if unexpected, unresolved issues arise; in addition, just the sharing of these experiences with the intent to reach a larger audience may cause discomfort. If, at any time, you have concerns or questions, I will make myself available to discuss them with you and find options together for resolving your concerns.

If you decide to co-research this study, you may withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time without penalty or prejudice. Co-researchers may request a summary of the research findings when the study is complete.

If you would be interested in becoming a co-researcher and participating in this study, please return the "interest" form in the stamped, self-addressed envelop provided. I will then

contact you by telephone so that we may personally connect. At that time I can give you additional information about the study, and answer any questions you may still have. Showing your interest does not obligate you to be in the study. It allows me to contact you so that we can discuss your interest and participation. I do hope that you are interested in this project and find it a worthwhile effort to contribute to healing wounds and relations both personally and within the wider community of spiritual practitioners. Your experience and insight are necessary and therefore invaluable to my research.

Thank you so much for your time and attention in reading this letter. If you have questions you would like answered before signing the interest form, you may call me collect at 650-493-8013. I look forward to hearing from you in the hope of a rewarding encounter and perhaps of future collaboration.

Sincerely,

Caryl Gopfert

INTEREST FORM

Yes, I would be interested in discussing the possibility of becoming a co-researcher in the study of teacher/student betrayal experiences. I understand that this in no way obligates me to participate, neither does it guarantee that I will be automatically included in the study. My name, address and telephone number will be held in strictest confidence and go no further than the researcher.

-------------------------------- ------------------------
Participant's Name Date

Street/P.O. Box

City State/Zip

Telephone #

CONSENT FORM

Dear ________,

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study on students' experiences of betrayal in the Zen-Buddhist teacher/student relationship. After careful consideration of all the criteria to be filled for participants, I would like very much to have you as an interviewee. In order to join the co-researching of this project, please return a copy of the introductory letter already in your possession along with this letter/consent form, signed. You may also wish to make a copy of the consent form for yourself. A stamped, self-addressed envelop is included. When I have received the consent form, I will call you to set up an interview.

If you have any remaining questions before deciding to participate, please call me collect at 650/493-8013; or my Chairperson, Rosemarie Anderson, Ph.D.; or the Academic Dean, Robert Schmitt, Ph.D., head of the Ethics Committee for Research of the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, at 650/493-4430.

You may request a summary of the research findings by checking yes or no in the space provided.

CONSENT FORM

I attest that I have read and understood the letter and introduction to the study on students' betrayal experiences in the teacher/student relationship in Zen-Buddhism which has been sent to me and have had any questions about this research answered to my satisfaction. My participation in this research is entirely voluntary. My signature indicates my willingness to be a co-researcher in this study.

I understand that the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology assumes no responsibility for psychological or physical injury resulting from this research.

________________________________ ________________

Participant's signature Date

________________________________ ________________

Researcher's signature Date

____

Mailing address

____

Telephone

Copy of findings: Yes__ No__

Appendix B

FOCUS OF INTERVIEW

Dear ________,

This is a written memo of the time we agreed on for our interview on _______________ at ___________. Thank you so much for your cooperation in setting up this appointment.

As you know, I would like you to tell me your personal story about the betrayal you felt from your Zen teacher. I would like you to narrate as freely as you can, without myriad interruptions from me, for it is *your* story, in your own words that is important for this study. To assist you, however, and to get the information I need for the research, I would like to provide you with a framework which may be helpful.

We will be meeting for approximately an hour and a half. Perhaps we can take 5-10 minutes to just sit quietly and practice mindfulness, holding the intention of compassion for ourselves and for these experiences, for the sanghas in which they happened, and for the teachers. If you do not wish to "sit", that is perfectly fine and we can simply proceed. We will need a few minutes to settle in, in any case.

Now to the content of the interview. I would like you to tell me *briefly* the story of your betrayal experience. What happened, the context around the situation, the events. Just as important as the events themselves are your feelings, emotions and reactions to them. Please include these as accurately as you can remember.

Second, I am interested in the "aftermath" of the events. What was the immediate effect? Has the experience changed or colored your life since? This includes such things as self-esteem, relationships, confidence, trust, attitudes. Has the experience influenced your Zazen (or spiritual) practice and your relationship to Zen teachers and to the Zen community?

Third, if you have integrated the experience, please explain how you accomplished that assimilation. Was the Zen community a help or hindrance? Did you enlist the aid of a therapist or another teacher? What helped most in your healing, or would have been helpful but you didn't receive? Has the experience taken on meaning in your life? Have you made sense of it? What are your reflections on the experience now? Do you think you have been transformed in any way by the experience?

Please do not feel that you need answer every question. They are meant to serve as guidelines so that common threads are

covered in each interview. Tell what is most important to you, but try to address each of the three areas somewhat. Don't "prepare" too much. If you leave out a whole area, I will be sure to ask questions, so just come with the intention to let me in on what happened to you in a prompted impromptu(!) session.

If you have used creative expression to work through your experience and would like to share that, please bring what you can to the interview. This could be poetry, paintings, ceramic pieces, collages, music compositions, etc. (or photos or tapes thereof) This has been an important part of my own process and I find it an exciting addition to "word" research.

I hope this has been somewhat helpful to you and I look forward to meeting you on ___________.

Sincerely,

Caryl Gopfert

Appendix C

INSTRUCTIONS FOR 2-PAGE REFLECTIONS BY THE STORY TELLERS THEMSELVES

Dear________________,

Enclosed you will find all eight stories, including your own. I hope they will speak to you in a profound way, as they did to me. Sometimes looking closely at experiences that could, in some ways, mirror our own can be quite emotional. Please read the stories carefully, taking note of where you are emotionally as you do so. If you need to care for yourself as you read and process these stories, it could be helpful to space the reading out over many days with plenty of down time in between readings. Intersperse the reading with pleasurable activities. Companionship while reading, a trusted person in the house, or someone who is "on call" can be of great comfort in case there is the need to "vent" or "emote" in reaction to the stories.

When you have read all the stories, please reflect on them and write a two-page commentary on your reaction to them. Do you connect with them emotionally? What, if any, emotional reactions did they bring up for you? Have others' stories affected you in your own process of insight, assimilation and meaning-making? Is there any shift in your perception or understanding of the betrayal as a result of sharing in these stories? Or of your own role in it? Do you have suggestions for healing or prevention? Do you have any important thoughts and ideas that you would like to share as a result?

Please return your reflections to me by___date_____ in the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Thank you for your help and attentiveness during this phase of my research. I am grateful for your participation and will keep you up-dated as the findings become clear.

Sincerely,

Caryl

Appendix D

"SYMPATHETIC RESONANCE" CONSENT FORM

Dear ________,

You have been invited to participate in, or co-research, a study to illuminate the experience of betrayal as felt by some students in the Zen-Buddhist teacher/student relationship. This letter/consent form describes the research in a bit more detail, so you will be better informed about the project. I also need a signed consent form to fulfill the requirements for the dissertation process.

By describing the experience itself, the study hopes to reveal the different types of betrayal that can occur and the different ways they can happen. By telling the story of the "aftermath," the effects on the life and well-being of the student, the study hopes to reveal the meaning-making processes and assimilation attempts of those betrayed, touching the minds and hearts of Zen teachers and students alike, precipitating understanding and compassion for the wounding that happens. By meeting and discussing the experience and the psychological/emotional/ practical repercussions, the study hopes to support a healing transformation in the researcher, co-researchers and readers.

Participation as a co-researcher in this project involves the following: You have been asked to read eight stories of betrayal experiences. In response, you are asked to write a 1-2 page paper on your reflections.

Then you have been asked to participate in a group discussion with seven other co-researchers about your feelings and reflections upon reading the eight accounts and about any other thoughts and ideas you have on the topic. This taped discussion will be about 1 1/2 - 2 hours long and will be held at __________'s home at ___________ in ___________.

This type of reflection on data gathered is a method used in transpersonal research called "sympathetic resonance". If sympathetic resonance occurs, it indicates validity, so your reflections and the results of the discussion are important to the research. They will be reported along with the reflections of the researcher in the dissertation itself. I am using an organic approach in this study, a new method of doing qualitative research, and am using sympathetic resonance to indicate the validity of my findings. Organic research has as a goal the transformation of researcher, co-researchers and readers alike. It sees the research process and the shared experiences of all involved as sacred, interconnected, and co-arising. It thrives on the input of all involved and offers

support and understanding, respect and unconditional positive regard to all involved. Discretion will be exercised and the anonymity of all participants will be honored. Transcripts, tapes and all written material in connection with this dissertation will be stored in a locked cabinet and accessed only by the researcher. The transcriber of the interviews and the discussion will come recommended, and be a discrete, non-member of the Zen community, and will be asked to keep all information confidential--the transcriber has no access to the sources of information.

If, at any time, you have concerns or questions, I will make myself available to discuss them with you and find options together for resolving your concerns. You may call me collect at 650/493-8013; or my Chairperson, Rosemarie Anderson; or the Academic Dean, Bob Schmitt, Ph.D., head of the Ethics Committee for Research of the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, at 650/493-4430. The Institute of Transpersonal Psychology assumes no responsibility for psychological or physical injury resulting from this research.

As a co-researcher in this study, you may withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time without penalty or prejudice. You may request a summary of the research findings by checking yes or no in the space provided. If you have any questions before deciding on participation, please feel free to call me at the above number.

Please return this consent form in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided.

Thank you so much for your time and participation.

I attest that I have read and understood this form and had any questions about this research answered to my satisfaction. My participation in this research is entirely voluntary. My signature indicates my willingness to be a co-researcher in this study.

___________________________________ _____________
Co-researcher' signature Date

____
Mailing address

Tel:_(____)____________________

I would like a copy of the findings. Yes_____, No_______

____
Researcher's signature Date

Appendix E

REFLECTION INSTRUCTIONS FOR SYMPATHETIC RESONATORS

Dear __________,

Thank you for deciding to be a part of this research study. Your participation is invaluable and I am excited to include the new method of sympathetic resonance in my study.

Enclosed you will find the eight stories included in the research on teacher/student betrayals. Please read them carefully and contemplate them, being aware of your own internal process at the same time. Do you resonate with these stories? If so, can you say something about your sense of empathy and understanding? Do you have emotional/feeling or intellectual reactions to the stories? If so, please describe them. Do any insights or thoughts come to you upon reflection? Do new aspects or questions arise?

Please write a 1-2 page "reflection" with these questions in mind and return it to me by January 10th, 1999, in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided.

I will remind you about the date of our discussion group meeting, but if you have any questions about the reflection process please feel free to call me sooner at (650) 493 8013.

Wishing you a peaceful holiday season,

Caryl

Appendix F

DISCUSSION INSTRUCTIONS FOR SYMPATHETIC "RESONATORS"

Dear ____________,

The discussion meeting for "sympathetic resonators" has been set for _____date______ at _____time_____. We will begin promptly with a short (15) minute sit and then a chance to have some tea and chat with each other before we begin.

Please come prepared to discuss the following points: Your reactions to and reflections on the eight stories that you read; thoughts and ideas set in motion by the stories (especially pertaining to responsibilities of teachers, students, sanghas), healing suggestions for and responses to wounding; preventative measures. We will have approximately two hours for our discussion.

Thank you for your willingness to devote your time and energy to this project and for your continuing participation in the discussion session. Your experience and wisdom are a crucial part of the analysis section of this study, so I am indebted to you for your efforts -- and very grateful.

Gassho,

Caryl

Appendix G

A LETTER FROM "EVA"
A Translation

27. August 1997.

Dear Caryl,

What a shame that you are not coming to __________. I would have been sooooo happy to see you again. You could have whispered English phrases to me on the side. I am not looking forward to the kenshukai (Hekiganroku--the koans feel so strange to me at the moment, and then everything in English). .... The whole retreat is sinfully expensive because we must pay the way for the Japanese teachers also. For someone like me, who must watch pennies carefully, it is a great burden. But, "all things pass quickly away."

Super, that work on your dissertation is coming along! You're certainly energetic and hard-working. I imagine that a big undertaking like this takes a lot of strength, but also lends you strength, meaning, and satisfaction. I just ask myself what our teacher will say when you give it to him to read one day? Will he "get it"? Or will he not even notice that it has something to do with him?

From the time I moved here in January [about 10 miles away from the center] until June, he didn't call here a single time, didn't even send a fax. Nothing. Then suddenly he started in again. But I notice how I now hold back and set boundaries [on my availability]. I don't jump any more. I am more grounded in myself. Now, the few times we do meet, it really hits me all the more strongly *how* unconsciously, *how* unreflectively he reacts to things. He would certainly emphatically deny that he could have anything to do with betrayal.

And there is so little to grab onto, to present--no tangible facts. I truly believe that only someone who has had the same kind of experience will be able to comprehend your story immediately and empathize with your pain. For others it will be just another interesting phenomenon among many. However, perhaps some readers will become aware of abuses in their own life and be able to work through some of them.

Thinking back: In the beginning I didn't want to trust my experience [of what was happening]. I was more willing to call my perceptions, feelings, and thoughts wrong, and narrow, and egoistic, and crazy, than to doubt the master for one single moment.

Another phase was this: I told myself, "he wants to test you, he wants to crush your ego," etc. Even then: "no matter how he behaves, he really only wants the best for you."

I wanted to keep the perfect picture I had of the master and protect it against my perceptions. The perfect picture of the master, but underneath the perfect picture of the spiritual path, which, until then, I had walked with his guidance. Someone who guides others along this path, *can't* be anything but honest, full of integrity!--I thought.

The trick is, that the spiritual path really cannot be navigated without total trust, and complete openness and devotion. In that moment the healthy warning signals of the soul fail to function. Being of one mind on the spiritual level, you no longer perceive when you are being "taken" on the psychological level. Being overwhelmed with inner fulfillment, you no longer sense that you have no more ground under your feet in the realm of interpersonal relationship. The willingness to sacrifice the self is boundless. You are open and vulnerable as you have never been before, but you have no desire for a healthy self-esteem/self-confidence as a protective shield because you know you are at home in a much larger Self-Consciousness. The master is like the doors, the key to that place, the guarantor of another world. This projection is a normal phase on the spiritual path.

But in that moment, the teacher is called to extraordinary care and compassion. The one thing he must not do: let you down/ignore you and pretend that this deep relationship never existed.

In one fell swoop, not only was my trust in the person of the teacher destroyed, but also my trust in the path itself. Had I been running after a phantom? I began to doubt the practice, couldn't sit any more. I also asked myself, "am I really mature enough to be a Zen teacher, or is this decision of the teacher also not to be trusted?" For a long time it was as if my light had gone out: I was nobody, everything was crushed/broken, it was all over, finished.

Meeting ___________ helped me a lot back then -- a Zen teacher who didn't woo students and had little charisma, who was simply there. I enjoyed sitting at a place far away, untouched by all that had happened, and discovering that it was possible, for a few breaths at least, to forget it all. Slowly a practice grew that had its source solely in myself.

That is perhaps the biggest change since then: the separation from the outer master and the trust of the inner master. ________ can't angle me on his fishing line any more.

Sometimes I notice how helpless and powerless he gets when I don't snap at his "bait."

At the same time I've gotten a keener sense for abusive situations to which others have now fallen prey. Compassion for them has grown, and the alertness so that I can relate to my own students differently.

Looking back, the pain of the dissolution of my marriage was less devastating than this betrayal. I believe this touches the innermost and oldest core of one's being, the connection to the Divine.

Dear "sister-in-suffering," what we have lived through! How wonderful, that we have survived!

Let me hear from you! I'm coming home from _______ on September 22.

Love,

Eva

Appendix H

INTERVIEWEES' RESPONSE LETTERS

MORGAN'S RESPONSE

I did not have much of an emotional reaction to the stories, perhaps because I have heard so many of these stories in talking with survivors from various religious traditions. Your own story was the most interesting and touching, I think, because it was written in good prose, not an edited audiotaped interview written in a telegraphic form like the others. I found the rest were so condensed it was hard to get a sense of what had really occurred or a good feeling for how it had affected the person describing the situation. I find it is the direct quotes, the sequence of behaviors, and the little details that give me a sense of whether a situation was abusive or a misrepresentation. The shorter stories felt a bit like the newspaper's condensation of a week of a soap opera. I don't mean to put down what happened to people, just to say the stories weren't as compelling as when you hear the whole.

Perhaps because I have heard so many stories of sexual misconduct, I was more impressed by the stories of other kinds of misuse of power and arbitrary, erratic, fuzzy teaching. Maybe these also impressed me because my own teachers did not err in this particular way. They taught "good Zen." This is a funny assumption, I now see, that all abuse is similar to your own.

I was impressed by the use of isolation and intimidation through anger used by so many teachers. The Dalai Lama has always been my standard and he talks at length about control of anger. I was saddened to see (again) that Zen is being very badly mistaught all over the West. It makes me question how teachers get away with it. How do they enroll so many students when they are teaching so badly? I felt grateful that I can now sort out what was inappropriate about what my two teachers did from the majority of what they taught (at least one taught), which was on target and continues to unfold and be of help in my life.

I was most saddened by the common aftermath of betrayal -- a falling away from the practice and loss of confidence in one's own capacity as a spiritual person. This to me is the most serious consequence of teacher misconduct. This is the big difference between spiritual betrayal and other forms of betrayal. **It is like acid thrown into the heart of our hope.** I feel very grateful that my experience caused only a temporary setback and reexamination, not a permanent halt to my practice. I think this was because the fundamental

teaching I got was sound and my childhood gave me a good sense of self- esteem. It makes me want to find some way to help those who, having had the courage to try spiritual practice wholeheartedly, are now, in a way, worse off than before they began.

Another reaction was to want to know who these teachers are so I can steer people away from them. Then came the reaction of not wanting to know, because (1) I need a little faith left, and (2) I feel an added sense of responsibility for the current and future victims once I know.

Suggestions for change: We Zennies have to stop thinking of ourselves as special. We must follow the lead of the mainline denominations and set up ethical standards and grievance procedures. We should have some standard of training for ordained people and teachers that includes seminary-type training in precepts, in transference, misconduct, and sexual harassment, etc. We have to write openly about these issues in Buddhist publications and workshops. Isolation and secrecy are what perpetuate these problems. I've always advocated a registry of trained teachers with a file for information on allegations of misconduct. It's tricky, because the accused cannot reply adequately to false allegations, but it can be done. We need a higher level of authority to appeal to if the local sangha is no help when there is a complaint. I feel that Zen teachers have to look at themselves as a profession and we have to develop a way to police ourselves ... and provide support for victims and perpetrators who want to change their ways.

The only thing I can think of that can help those who have suffered abuse is to find a good teacher who will understand their lack of trust and will be able to guide them step by step back into a productive and joyful practice. The retreat for survivors that the Center for the Prevention of Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence puts on is extremely helpful and should be offered on a regular basis for Buddhists.

LAUREN'S RESPONSE

Somewhat to my own surprise, I have not in the least looked forward to writing any response to the stories of betrayal. I've clearly been avoiding the task, putting it off for over a month. This is not my characteristic style, and I don't know quite what to make of it. Perhaps they are in some way, too "hot" to handle. Curiously, and perhaps along the same lines, when I read the stories, my feeling was, sometimes, rather flat -- that is, I did not get emotionally involved or charged in reading them. (And, in a secondary way, contributing perhaps to my reluctance in writing a response, I'm embarrassed and feel somewhat guilty about this response: I "should have" responded more strongly to these stories that resonated with my own.)

At some other level, my overall response is simply: "Ugh!" or "Yuck!" That is, my own feeling response to them is some combination of disgust, depression, and disappointment (in the various teachers being spoken of.) What a disheartening bunch of crap!!

Here are some specific responses to your questions:
Do you think spiritual betrayals are different in any way from other betrayals we suffer in our lives?
This may be obvious, but I think the depth of betrayal has to do with the degree of intimate openness and vulnerability of the person betrayed. In that way, there is a simple correlation. Clearly in all the stories, including my own, a great deal was "at stake." The person in the student position had been or became <u>greatly</u> intimately open and vulnerable. Therefore, I do not think spiritual betrayals are different in <u>kind</u> from other betrayals. It's just that the <u>degree</u> of betrayal may be deeper than, for example, a business partner betraying you--that is, betrayal in a situation where the betrayed is less opened up, less vulnerable, less is at stake.

Rather than being different from other betrayals, I think spiritual betrayals are very much <u>like</u> earlier, childhood ones in their essential psychological and emotional dynamics. Their traumatic quality depends partly, at least sometimes, although not always in a clear direct way, on the triggering of an earlier betrayal situation.

Further: see "Rose" [the interviewee who dropped out,] top of page 4: In this way perhaps, spiritual betrayal is different, or at least at the further end of some spectrum. The words that come to mind are "insidious" and "corrosive."
That is, the betrayal is in some sense more subtle. As Rose says "If somebody steals your money you know you've been robbed," etc. But in psychological betrayal there is nothing material to point to.

This brings up another point. Throughout the stories, there are statements like: "I feel like vomiting," "I feel so self-critical," and so on. I think these capture excellently the horrific self-doubt and confusion that can plague one in this situation of betrayal. This self-condemning is made all the worse by a sangha that does <u>not</u> recognize the shortcomings of the "Roshi." This is parallel, in family systems theory, to a family that won't recognize and openly condemn a sexually abusive father, which leaves the daughter with feelings of isolation, self-hate, doubt, and confusion very much like that reported in the stories.

One more item about the particular nature of this kind of betrayal: As Robby says ("Robby," p. 3), "...you could never trust it to not be your own ego." So Zen has this particular weapon in the arsenal of betrayal. The teaching provides excellent material with which to doubt oneself, denigrate one's own sense of what's going on: "Oh, this (my perception) is just ego" or "Oh, this is just mistaken understanding." This is exacerbated by Zen's "mysterious" qualities (real and imagined).

What would reduce the number of these harmful experiences? The main thing is: don't hide this stuff, make it open, make it known. Here's a kind of parallel example. In our Zen Center Elders' Council an issue arose involving a current main teacher there. For sake of brevity, let's say some elders felt this person's attitude was high-handed, arrogant, disdaining toward other teachers, etc. Yet though these feelings have festered a long time, it was very hard to bring them to the surface. But we did. It was painful. And, in the end, I'm quite sure it did <u>not</u> result in an earth-shaking change in the "disdainful" teacher's attitude. Yet, I think this is a very important thing to do. It is a kind of middle way: on the one hand, let's <u>not</u> brush it under the rug, pretend it's not a problem, hope that it goes away if we ignore it. On the other hand, let's not idealistically and probably unrealistically expect that our bringing it up will bring it to a magical and excellent resolution. We're left with the notion that it's important to bring up, and bring up, and bring up, and it probably won't do much good! In some funny way, I think this is rather like our practice in general: we keep trying and trying and trying, and mostly we don't do too well. Anyway, some attitude of willingness and energy to bring it up without expecting miraculous results seems to me like a good way to go.

ARIAKE'S RESPONSE

My essential reaction to reading the stories of betrayal was simply this: Here was more of the same story--over and over again people being injured and then the appallingly uncompassionate responses of teachers and sangha peers--the same old cult-like collusion. All the stories sounded so familiar, like they could have happened at my zendo.

I feel that reading and hearing other people's stories can be helpful when trying to assimilate one's own experience. Perhaps it was my despair over the slim possibilities for reform that caused me to become briefly suicidal during the time I was working on editing my own interview. I have come to feel so powerless to do anything about the abuses and corruption. I had wanted to make a dedication of my whole life. Now it seemed that the only offering I had left to give to American Buddhism were those six pages, and I drove Caryl crazy with my efforts to get the paper just right.

We have been asked to address the question: "Do you think that spiritual betrayals are different in any way from other betrayals we suffer in our lives?" I think that betrayals by spiritual teachers are profoundly different than other betrayals, but I don't feel I could say why, because even though I have suffered many traumas, I never considered myself to have been betrayed. Before I met my teacher, the word was not in my vocabulary, with the exception of the story of Judas. Here, however, we have the unthinkable,--the teacher betraying the student. Perhaps the word "unthinkable" gives one clue to the difference.

This word "unthinkable" may also hold a clue as to how such abuses can go on unchecked. It is easier for the sangha to be in denial if an abuse involves behavior that is unthinkable.

As far as what I feel might be done: it seems to me that education is very important, but that a reforming of the entire structure may be necessary if we would like to see substantial lessening of incidents of betrayal and abuse. Perhaps education and reform might also contribute to the healing of those who have already suffered. People who have been seriously injured want most of all to see that what happened to them will never happen to anyone else again. Also, any measures taken to remedy the situation give an acknowledgement to the injured person. I believe that having the injury acknowledged is one of the first and most necessary steps in healing. I say that because I do not feel I have received that acknowledgement (at least not from the people whose acknowledgement is most needed), and not having that acknowledgement seems to really hold back my ability to heal.

In my zendo, sexual abuse is not considered to be abuse. It seems more to be regarded as some sort of crime the student has committed for which they should be expelled. In my case it was the sexual abuse that changed my view of things, so that now I view other abuses as abuse and not as some sort of "Zen training." Prior to the sexual abuse, many things going on in the zendo disturbed me and I accepted all kinds of abuse of myself, but I was not able to acknowledge any of it as abuse.

Of course, the first step toward reform must be dialogue. I suppose this is one of the reasons I feel such despair. How will there be dialogue in an institution that is so dysfunctional? I can remember back awhile ago hearing something about John Gotti and the mob, and thinking, "Wow, that's it. That's like my zendo." Even though I haven't heard any reports of murder in the zendo, whatever it was that I heard about the mob sounded familiar enough to make me think that perhaps I should just consider myself lucky to have escaped and not entertain any hope for reform.

Other zendos, however, have at least acknowledged a problem and are trying to make some changes. So perhaps efforts for change are not entirely futile. Yet, as one co-researcher pointed out, although in some zendos sexual abuse is seen as a problem, other inhumane treatment is still par for the course.

In any case, I think dialogue and communication must be the first step in bringing about change. This research project has opened communication within this very small circle, and I do have hope that this dialogue may continue as well as expand. Over the decades, many people from my zendo have made efforts for change, but they have always failed. The reason I see for this is simply that people too often stood alone, or when people came together they were too few in number or they did not have enough good communication to form a network that would hold together.

Sometimes injuries affect people in ways that make it difficult for them to dialogue and network, just as injury made it difficult for me to participate in this research, but I am willing to try to continue some dialogue.

LEE'S RESPONSE

It seems to me that the relationship between Zen student and Zen teacher in this country has been modeled on that relationship in Japan, and hardly anyone in this country is really capable of handling either role. Ideally, the student who wants to commit fully to practice goes to the Zen teacher and gives over his or her authority to that teacher absolutely, and in return the teacher takes on the responsibility of bringing that student up against whatever she needs to face in order to become free from the bonds of ego and conditioning and move toward enlightenment. The teacher's role requires a truly exceptional level of self-realization. The student's role requires not just tremendous trust but tremendous strength: the strength to ask, always, "how can I learn from what is happening? how can I use it for my spiritual growth?" no matter what is going on. It is the stance of the warrior, to use Carlos Casteneda's word. In the chapter called "Petty Tyrants" in his book *The Fire from Within*, there is this sentence: "We know that nothing can temper the spirit of a warrior as much as the challenge of dealing with impossible people in positions of power."

This is the model, but we Westerners can rarely live up to it. Too much of our culture gets in the way. We have not been raised as warriors, we have been raised to think in terms of justice and retribution, good guys and bad guys, victims and perpetrators. We want kindness. We want a nurturing relationship, one in which we can clearly see how we are being helped. We want people to be rational. We want to be valued, and paid attention to.

I don't say there is anything wrong with this. But it does not go with the fierce classical relationship between Zen master and student. I think a large part of the troubles that arise in this relationship--the kinds of troubles recounted in these interviews--comes from this discrepancy between the model and the actuality. We like the idea of the master-student relationship in its salutary harshness, but we don't like being treated badly (even though the world treats us badly at every turn, and the Zen master, supposedly, takes the position of the world toward the student). We believe we can be damaged by maltreatment and so we are damaged, as opposed to the warrior, who knows he cannot be damaged.

In these interviews I see one person after another (myself included, of course) trying terribly hard to do what he or she believes to be required for being the good student, the good person. We approach Zen as we did school--work hard, learn well, follow the rules, and eventually you will stand out from the rest and be given an A (or special status, or dharma transmission). Somehow this doesn't quite work with Zen

practice. You work hard and you don't necessarily get rewarded at all. You stand around looking at dewdrops on flowers, however, and bing, suddenly you comprehend everything. I feel sad for all of us, reading these interviews, both the students who feel misled and betrayed and the teachers who seem to have been pulled down by their susceptibility to the temptations of power and desire.

Do I think spiritual betrayals are different from other betrayals? I think they have the potential to be more devastating, especially if the student has made spiritual practice the central, all-encompassing work of her life -- has given up everything and joined a monastery, for instance. Then the betrayal destroys more than the student-teacher relationship -- it can shatter the whole structure of a life, and often destroy the spiritual practice that was the life's foundation. Other kinds of betrayal can shatter lives, too, though.

What might keep such betrayals from happening? I don't know. It is human nature that causes the problems, and expectations of perfection. It is the same thing that happens in all spheres--we make rules for ourselves, and then we can't abide by them (leaders of the Religious Right discovered in motel rooms with prostitutes, President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky, policemen beating up prisoners, businessmen embezzling, etc.). When I think about questions like this, all I can come up with is that making more rules will not solve the problem. What we have is a shortage of wisdom, a shortage of wise people who have good hearts and know how to govern themselves. We live in a culture that does not value self-governing, that encourages us to indulge ourselves and express ourselves and that offers us such self-inflating goals as success and wealth and prestige. So how do we increase the numbers of wise people? By being willing to learn from our experiences, I guess--to use these experiences (all of them) to understand how human beings work, how we ourselves work, and try to be humble and compassionate.

ROBBY'S RESPONSE

My strongest reaction to reading the stories is about the pervasive theme of most story-tellers' desire to be "special" in the eyes of the teacher or sangha: the desire to teach, to be ordained, to be in the inner circle somehow. This desire appears to make one more vulnerable to betrayal. The other theme so remarkable was how long people stayed in the harmful relationship, even after clear wrongdoing or pain was being produced. What kept people coming back for more, unable to leave?

All of us seemed to have abandoned common sense with these teachers. Certainly this is a reminder to me about my own vulnerability to being swept away by an authority figure (therapist or roshi, for instance) with poor boundaries. I suggest each of us must unpack the psychological drive to be "special" at such great cost. Common sense appears to have been lost in thinking that a roshi/teacher would be above the norm,--that is, lacking in human faults and failings. The apparent idealization of the teacher was very poignant, creating much pain. I am not putting the blame or responsibility at the feet of the students. Clearly, the teachers suffered from poor judgement and limited capacity for morality. But I know of no tradition that takes the humanness out of its teachers. How did we lose sight of that? And why? The Buddha is quoted in the "Self-Reliance Verse:"

> The Buddhas cannot wash away our sins,
> They cannot remove our suffering...
> They cannot transfer their insights to us.
> All they can do is teach the Dharma.
> I am my own protector.

This should be taught thoroughly to anyone contemplating entering a Zen student/teacher relationship. I cannot stop my teacher from further exploits. I can protect myself. I know now how dangerous it is to seek out "specialness," status or power, no matter what my motive is. I know how dangerous a charismatic teacher may be for me.

To Lee who asked,"Does the teacher have some responsibility to the student?" I am very saddened to read that Lee does not know that the answer is an unqualified yes. I am sorry Lee gave up on spiritual events, not that I blame that response. But there are many wholesome, honest, trustworthy teachers out there and our spiritual growth is worth the effort to find one, at least the way I see it.

My story is now five years in the past. My practice is the richest it has ever been. Having had a chance to talk at length with a trustworthy Zen priest, I believe I have put most of my pain and confusion behind me. The Tibetans say one should check out many teachers and spy on them for about 12

years before committing to a relationship. Spy on the behavior. How many of us jumped at the first charismatic teacher that we were drawn to? I suspect this is not a sound way to find a good teacher.

Betrayal is a risk in any deep relationship. Betrayal in the spiritual arena risks the spirituality of the student. That cost is too precious for words.

Teachers should teach us to spy on them first, teach, *"Don't trust me!"* Students should be taught that they must protect their spiritual practice, it is worth more than any potential relationship with a given teacher.

Buddhism has no corner on morality. This is a painful fact to accept. There is no Shangri-La, just many seekers yearning for it, seeking it in the perfect teacher who holds the carrot of jump-starting us into Nirvana. I don't look for that any more. That was a tough, but vital, lesson to learn. Thank you.

CHRIS' RESPONSE

I was rivetted. With each story I could find something to resonate with, even if the details were very different than my own. The self-doubt lingering in most of us was especially striking. Somehow seeing it in others and feeling compassion for them made me better able to identify it in myself. I feel a renewed determination to stay present to it, and to recognize my difficulties in learning to stand in my own truth.

It also helped me release some of the shame I have felt at times about having ever gotten myself into such a relationship in the first place. I could see that there is a community dimension to this problem that goes beyond my own personal vulnerabilities. It reinforced my sense that my own ability to heal and make good use of this experience in my practice has been largely dependent on having the good fortune of meeting another teacher who is unafraid of speaking to these issues, has made a study of them, and has proven skillful and trustworthy in being with me in them. It has also helped to have met with other students of our former teacher and shared our stories--a meeting partially spawned by participation in this study. And the fact that I was in psychotherapy during the time of my own experience helped buffer me.

As I read through all the stories, I found myself going through lots of feelings and defenses. At times I felt a little numb (I've heard this before), enraged, disgusted, very sad, judgmental (what was wrong with this teacher/student), and also shame--I'm part of this, too. The spectrum of relational failure, from empathic breakdown to humiliation, ostracism, sexual misconduct, and rape, was especially disturbing given that there is generally no clearly defined course of complaint, mediation, remediation. The social and psychological costs of being a whistle blower, on top of having experienced at best very unskillful teaching, is forbidding. By the time I had finished reading, I felt especially concerned for those we may never hear from: students who are so alienated from the practice world that they want nothing to do with it, and teachers so walled off by narcissistic defense that they would never admit any sense of regret for their possible negative impact on a student, or seek out help.

This study has had the unexpected side benefit of helping me contact more healthy anger. After the interviews were completed, the researcher called to say that her advisor felt that my interview did not seem to fit, that I had not articulated a clear sense of traumatic impact. Did I wish to redo the interview? Or how would I feel if it, the original, were not used? My first reaction was relief: I could be rid

of the stress of speaking out in a public, if disguised, way. And the kid in me was glad to be free of accumulating any negative karma for speaking ill of my teacher. There was also someone inside who was happy for the opportunity to disidentify with feeling somehow damaged. On the other hand, it also made me feel yet again that the Zen world is not so open to looking at an arena that the field of psychology has been looking at for some time: the impact of empathic breakdowns, failures, breaches in helping relationships. I began to feel a little rejected--my story was not big enough or perhaps not told well enough to make anyone understand the hurt and obstacles I, too, had struggled with. Maybe I was being seen as just one more over-sensitive person crying wolf when other people had bigger hurt, real hurt: sexual misconduct, banishments, even rape. Harsh words, a look, a tone, pale in comparison.

Or do they? I didn't buy that--and I didn't think anyone else in the study really would either, including the advisor and researcher. I realize I feel a bit like the unmolested sibling in an incestuous family--the one who escaped direct, grosser violation, yet who all along was intuiting something which was unnamed, shadowy, secret, and who received some unkind treatment when her words came too close to what was hidden. The self-doubt, the loss of trust in my own perceptions, the loss of trust in the teacher-student relationship (even as an abstract idea), is part of the damage, as is my sense of survivor's guilt. So yes, I would like this opportunity to clarify my sense of the negative impact of what happened to me, which was more in the realm of empathic failure.

Empathic impasse, breach, rupture may be on the subtler end of relational failure in teacher-student relationships, but it can also lead to much anxiety, grief, self-doubt, obsessive self-questioning, rage, isolation, confusion, lack of progress and help along the path of spiritual growth.

We go to spiritual teachers, as opposed to other professionals, because their expertise is in the field of compassion. We go expecting to learn by their example, their teaching, and their treatment of us. In the Buddhist world, we often understand that compassion is not the same as "niceness"; sometimes compassion means showing the backside of your head and all your worst delusions. So there is some leeway. But this is where it is easy for both students and teachers to get confused, it seems. What's the difference between a helpful confrontation of a student's egocentricity and a punitive interpretation of a student's behavior or patterns, in service of narcissistically defending the teacher? When a teacher, through lack of skill, or through personal defendedness, misreads or misunderstands a student

and then reacts defensively or retaliates against the student's attempts to restore accuracy, and especially if this happens repeatedly in a surround of growing tension or even hostility, there is a deep shattering--not only of one's sense of relationality, but also of one's capacity to be inspired. This is no small matter.

What my own example suggests is that sometimes that shattering happens slowly, more erosively, like water dripping on a stone. One drop here, one drop there--an unkind word or tone --is not so much. But after some years, there is a deep groove in that stone. The deep groove seems to be part of the stone, in the same way that a student can easily begin to think, this problem with my teacher is all just me. This self-doubt about one's own perceptions is fueled when a teacher overuses teachings on projection to ward off mutual recognition of the impact of the teacher's personality on the student. There is denial of the intersubjectivity of any two beings interacting with and impacting on each other. Everything becomes the student's responsibility. Awareness of interbeing is lost, and the student, at best, is unhelped in his or her efforts to note what seems true for them, and to receive what seems true to another. The student grows ever more confused. They may try, as I did, to preserve the already shattered bond of empathy by constructing good reasons for why their teacher would behave that way. Meanwhile, the honesty of the situation has been lost. Concealment, defense, an underlying hopelessness set in. Meanwhile, the teacher's shadow grows, unacknowledged and denied.

Here, for me, is the greatest tragedy and grief. I did not need my teachers to be flawless. I needed them to be transparent. I needed them to own their shadow as I was trying to own mine, and to somehow demonstrate a willingness and capacity to work with it not only for their own benefit, but also for mine--for me, their student, who in good faith trusted them to inspire me to work with my own brokenness. This is not to say that I needed them to tell me a lot of things about themselves personally--just be open to hearing what I felt in reaction to their behavior, and be owning of their own counter-reaction.

The human need to idealize those whose skills, values, behaviors we admire, is immense--especially when our childhood needs to admire and be admired by a calm, mirroring consistent other, have been unmet. The pull to cling rigidly to the idealizing energy or tone in a teacher-student relationship can be tremendous--on both sides. It is easy to get pulled into the undertow, if the impact of idealization, devaluation, and transference on both parties is not understood or owned. Idealization inflates, devaluation deflates. What conditioned reactive behavior does this trigger in the teacher? Student?

Does the student's need to admire unconsciously feed the teacher's need to be admired? What does the teacher do if the student somehow wounds the teacher's primary vulnerability? Are boundaries held too rigidly or too loosely? How does the teacher tolerate, need, pull for, prey upon, reject, hold or retaliate against either adoration or disappointment from the student?

More attention needs to be paid to these sorts of natural and inevitable vulnerabilities in all teachers as well as students. Meanwhile, how do we address this need as a community? What is the community's responsibility when someone crosses the line into predatory behavior? It is clear from these interviews that the cost of bearing these experiences alone is very high.

Other helping professions have chosen to delineate paths for training, recourse, and complaint. When the going gets rough, formal consultation with experienced peers or mentors is expected. If all else fails, boards exist for clients to complain to; licenses can be revoked. I wonder what paths have existed historically in the Buddhist world for a sort of peer review, and what is being tried now? I have often felt that if my own former teacher had somehow been more open to peer support, consultation, teachings on teaching, much trouble might have been averted. Isolation can be dangerous. Of course, even with peers around, some teachers--and some communities--remain closed. I don't know what the answer is, but I resonate with another interviewee's disturbing question: "Do we make a bunch of rules about all this, or do we just let it happen and learn from it what we can?"

One last comment about my own vulnerabilities. I was drawn into my former teacher's charisma as a speaker. I liked the way this teacher's words could grab us out of our stressed lives and shake us up and make us listen. I still think some of the tapes are good. They're entertaining, witty, clear. But now I also hear a way in which the words seem to call too much attention to themselves, I hear a way they are trying too hard. Of course, that's all hindsight. I spent years in confusion. I like a saying my current teacher shared with me, "The dark is often deepest at the foot of the lighthouse."

I am now interested more in teachers whose presence seems either more transparent or more rinsed of personality, of over performance--which does not have to mean bland. There is a subtle inner quiet--a sense of less strain, fewer masks, an occasional messiness for which there is the capacity for mutual ownership and repair. Mutuality is the key word here. I watch to see if I am able to keep my focus on my own salvation, or if I am all bound up about how things are going with the teacher. When the teacher is there but somehow fades

into the watching itself, the seeing and acknowledging, I suspect I'm on a helpful path.

I feel much gratitude for the courage of all the interviewees in breaking silence. You inspire me.

PAT'S RESPONSE

And here I thought I was the one "bad" person not answering the story query, and it turns out you have been pulling teeth.

Now, actually reading the stories, I am gripped. I sink in my teeth and chew. I can't put them down. Can't? I don't put them down. I read through with fascination, bemusement, horror, disgust. I feel privileged to be included, but also uncertainty. I am a voyeur of acts done in secret--and if I am caught could suffer severe punishment. Of course I don't plan to be caught, but if I am, please remember I wasn't there either.

Such confusion about what is spiritual, and how to get it--which would be material after all, the getting-it part. And what is it we really want? Some confusion there as well: to be good, to be right, to be approved, accepted, loved. And looking for these things in all the wrong places: teachers, centers, standing. And then doing heaven knows what--essentially betraying ourselves--in the effort to acquire that acceptance from the outside. And of course it never works that way, and how could we have been so dumb once again? To believe (as we did when we were wee) that we are responsible for everyone's behavior, to believe that how they behave reflects on me and how I behave. If I could just do it more perfectly they would wise up--they would finally love me in the way they never did.

Then why bother with the middleman? What about loving yourself? Accepting yourself? Rather than trying to get it from someone else?

Ideally teachers would be the parents we never had, and could help us sort it all out. But what a pudding. Sweet, intense, buttery, and so addictive. Which brings up one of the great religious questions--how come? Or if God is good, where does evil come from? Or what kind of design is this? If betrayal happens so often, isn't it implicit in the design? Or is the universe/God/Source out to fuck us over? Or is getting fucked over intended to be (in Alice Miller's terms) "for your own good"? Is the universe/God/Source that brand of screwed-up parent, acting out its own stuff in some kind of weird,

mistaken belief in doing "good"/"spiritual" work? Eventually you'll get straightened out, and I'll let you know when that is. And if betrayal is part of the design, then what is the intention?

I don't know where this is going or coming from, I am just writing along, but no, I don't think spiritual betrayals are particularly different from other betrayals. To be betrayed you have to love very deeply, and betrayal (as my mentor/ friend reminds me) is the strongest glue there is to bind people together. Abused kids reach out for their parents. So letting go of the betrayal matrix can be extremely touchy. For one thing it seems you have to admit you were wrong to love in the first place, but it is not wrong to have loved, but to have loved incompletely, one-sidedly. All good on their side, all bad on mine.

Again a religious dilemma: one or many? Who's "right" and who's "wrong?" We will have to get off the right-wrong axis to find relief. Otherwise various problems: not loving is wrong, but love's quality assessed by someone else is wrong, judgments are inherently binding (from self or other) but there they are. If we forgive, we feel we are condoning. We don't want to condone, but we want to forgive. On and on. My, my. But I am firmly convinced it is possible to reinhabit one's life unencumbered by betrayal.

Vulnerable? All my life I have been vulnerable. Are you kidding? But specifically, yes, as mentioned in the story, my wife was having a very passionate affair with another gentleman, not myself, which I actually experienced as more of a betrayal than the story in question.

But man, trying to be good in the eyes of others is a never-ending, impossible bummer.
The new thing is more like Yakushan said,
"Awkward in a hundred ways, clumsy in a thousand, still I go on."

And I must add--for clarity of language, if not reality--nobody "betrays" anybody else. Nobody "does" betrayal. Person A does something, which person B "experiences" as betrayal. This is Buddhist logic: When A, then B. Not A does to B, or A makes B.

But: "There is no event" does not mean "there is no betrayal." So in this language, "When you did/said that, I felt/ experienced betrayal." This is linguistically removing the "victim," or reconfiguring the "victim" to no longer be a "victim" of betrayal, as in, "You betrayed me."

When you stop being a "victim" of others' actions/speech, that's already a step towards freedom from the possibility of betrayal.

Appendix I

RESONANCE GROUP RESPONSES

Student I:

Nearly a century ago, one of the most respected astronomers of his day claimed to be able to see a series of straight lines on the planet Mars. A few other observers confirmed his observations, while most didn't, and decades later the majority opinion was confirmed: Lowell's canals were a figment of his imagination. Carl Sagan wrote:

(Percival) Lowell always said that the regularity of the (Martian) canals was an unmistakable sign that they were of intelligent origin. This is certainly true. The only unresolved question was which side of the telescope the intelligence was on.

Reading through these accounts, I understand betrayal took place. The only unresolved question is, which side of the teaching stick was the betrayal on?

The eight stories answer that question quite consistently: from the writers' points of view, in each case, the teacher was betrayer, the student the betrayed. Occasionally, one of the writers questions that assumption ("...somehow this is probably all my fault anyway" ... "Can the teacher just do absolutely anything, and then the whole responsibility is how does the student respond to it?"), but for the most part, the stories are depressingly (that is, I felt depressed reading them, and still feel that way as I write this note) one-sided, talking in terms of how the teacher *should* be:

> "That's not too much to ask, that a teacher have that kind of insight."
>
> "... I think it is the responsibility of the teacher, like a parent, to turn that immaturity into a positive experience that develops your sense of yourself ..."
>
> "... the teacher could have been kinder and better to me ..."

This is what I find so disturbing in these stories, either the explicit (as above) or implicit belief that a good student of Zen should trust the teacher, *no matter what*--despite what I see as the pretty well-established fact that, in the western Buddhist community, abuse is widespread. As Lee notes, "This sort of thing happens all over the place. Every Zen center seems to have had its own story (of betrayal)."

So I read these stories and sense that the writers know this, some realizing quite early into their abusive relationship what lies ahead. And I feel impatience, anger even, that they (to a greater or lesser extent) participated in their own betrayal. That they betrayed themselves.

This, anyway, represents one side of what I felt. The side that says, it takes two to create an abusive relationship. That each of us bears responsibility for our experience. That the Buddha said (or perhaps said) that we should be lights unto ourselves. "Question authority" and these situations wouldn't happen.

OK, having got that off my chest, another voice clamors to be heard. It's the voice of my child self, my needy self, my lonely self, who empathizes and identifies with each of these writers, whose stories need to be told so that others may learn from their experiences. I imagine each of the writers initially finding a haven with their teachers and sanghas, perhaps coming wounded in from the world to find love and caring and community. I imagine, as some have written, how the incremental nature of the abuse was insidious, how hard it must have been to think clearly in such circumstances. So my heart is full of their pain and suffering.

And yet...and yet...

... and yet they participated. So while I feel great compassion for the woundedness these writers feel, I have difficulty understanding their willingness to tolerate for months and even years what looks, in the cold black-and-white of the printed page, like awful conditions.

Caryl, I respect so much this project of yours. I hope that these stories will receive wide circulation, perhaps becoming the nucleus of a book? The more current and future students who read these accounts, the better equipped they will be in the unlikely event that they encounter similar situations. When students learn to question early signs of abuse, they may challenge it and head it off long before it gets to the depths experienced by your writers.

Thank you for the opportunity to read these accounts. It was an honor.

Student II:

Morgan's Story

This one makes me very angry--clearly, this is a case of sexual harassment and abuse, with men who are the perpetrators doing everything to cover their own and each others' butts. I feel proud of this woman for having the courage to confront her own behavior patterns and then speak out about what happened in order to prevent more harm. The moral of this story for me is that the precepts are, indeed, where practice ultimately starts and returns to ... in a situation like this, if they had been followed, much harm would have been avoided.

Pat's Story

I'm really struck by the last paragraph of this story ... the insight that we somehow seem to think that betrayal is avoidable ... what a delusion that is! Perhaps related to, or even the same thing, as thinking if we try hard enough we can avoid suffering. That seems to go to the core of what Buddhism is about ... facing reality just as it is. We could even add a line to the Five Remembrances: I know I am of the nature to betray and be betrayed; I cannot avoid betrayal.

Pat is really taking responsibility for his/her (not sure of the gender) responses to Roshi, and has the Big Sky view that while on the relative level, there was something wrong here (betrayal and exploitation), on the absolute level, these dynamics are part of the nature of our human existence.

Rose's Story

My first intellectual reaction to this story is that Rose didn't have the ego strength to be in this situation to begin with. Yes, someone should have noticed that and perhaps told her, but how can one really be sure of that for another person? We run the danger of underestimating someone's potential to transform ... it's very tricky.

My emotional reaction is that I have a hard time feeling empathy for Rose. I feel she could have left the situation at any time. As I write that, I'm aware that's a standard response to abuse stories, especially those where a woman is the victim. But as I wrote above, I think it might be equally demeaning to not hold the possibility of someone's strength to either walk away from a situation on their own or to speak out against it.

Robby's Story

I felt a lot of empathy for Robby. I wonder if part of that is because I'm assuming this is a man, and if that's my own internalized sexism (if I knew this was a woman, I wonder if my reaction would have been different).

This teacher really does sound like a cult leader, preventing anything that encourages questioning and free thinking among students. Without knowing what Buddhism is, to

present this as the Dharma is a betrayal to the students and also to the Buddha's teachings. I feel angry when I think about this.

Chris' Story

Intellectual reaction: I share Chris' concern about this teacher's lack of lineage and the response to it; this is dismissing authentic concerns not only about power, but also about the authenticity and legitimacy of the teachings. This teacher seems to be recreating a parental role with all the "adultism" that goes with it. "You will listen to me because I am the teacher and I said so." The statement the teacher made about "there is a reason why I'm the teacher and you're not" is also a clear abuse of power.

It seems the teacher was unable to separate her own fears and insecurities about her sexual involvement with a student from Chris' process of dealing with past abuse. Although the teacher accused Chris of projection, I see it the other way around ... projections were flying everywhere.

Lauren

It's not hard to figure out the identity of this Roshi. Of the little bit I've read of his writing, I have to say I respect his thoughts. And I've also heard some of the stories of betrayal that came from that period of time at the Zen center. I'd like to think that practice, zazen, conquers all, including a defective, personality-disordered teacher. Lauren's story may be an example of that ... In spite of everything, she came through her experience of betrayal with a stronger sense of self (albeit after much therapy and work). I wonder if part of that was due to the practice and even in an odd sort of way, to this Roshi.

Jamie's Story

Wow ... I felt this one deeply, perhaps because it resonates with what I wrote above in response to Lauren's story. This looked like another clear case of broken boundaries, abuse of power through sex ... and yet, Jamie somehow found her way through all this pain to a place of healing and compassion. Being with her own rage about these events, which I believe was a healthy process, probably aided in that healing. Her statement, "Who's going to do this Buddha way, if it isn't you?" and subsequent recognition of how she idealized her teachers rather than trusting herself, was quite powerful.

Lee's Story

This one makes me angry too. At the risk of being simplistic, the precept regarding respecting relationships was broken, and harm was caused. Even more disturbing, the teacher is exploiting the concept of the absolute realm by telling Lee that she needs to be bigger and accept this love

affair. By doing so, the teacher has completely bypassed the realm of the relative, in which Lee is in much pain. The teacher has no right whatsoever to sit in judgement of Lee's emotions when the teacher is directly contributing to them. This story has a lot of emotional charge for me because I experienced a similar situation, so I'm sure my reactions are colored by that.

Teacher I

I can only begin to touch on my complex responses to the narratives on abuse you sent me. The deepest feeling is sadness and dismay. Sadness for all the people involved--those who have been abused, but also those who have been agents of that pain, who themselves must be in pain. The dismay is somehow about human nature. That we replicate these patterns, that it is so difficult to find help, and seems even more difficult for communities to see or help themselves, and that such behaviors unfold in the name of dharma or Zen.

The rest of my thoughts here are fragmentary, but I hope there will be opportunities to explore them and learn in the dialogue we have next week and from your research. First of all I must confess to watching my own energy for drama arise. In the first few narratives I found myself wondering where and who, as if that would affect my feelings about the situation. The second part of my confession is to wonder how people could leave themselves so vulnerable. I have had to think about that, and about my own aversion to that kind of vulnerability. What has helped me is to think, "What would I have done in this or that situation?" The unclarity of my own response is a useful clue, a tool of empathy.

Several things struck me as common to most of these narratives.

1. Not one person seems to have had a community sympathetic to his or her situation. The Sangha was not a refuge. And none of the Sanghas seems to have had any process for reflecting on or resolving conflicts or issues of misuse of power.
2. Each community seems to have had a thoroughly top-down authority structure. Most of the community heads were referred to as Roshi, something I think that is very unusual in a Japanese setting, where Roshi is a title of respect not necessarily one of intimacy. Parenthetically, it has seemed very odd to me to have come across teachers whom I do respect who refer to themselves as "Roshi." Unheard of in Japan, I think. At any rate this points to the confusion and conflict some of us in the West have about authority. We crave it and then set out to cut it down to size.

This actually leads to two other thoughts. First, that in some of these stories, the teacher held out transmission, or permission to lead or teach as a carrot on a stick. So there was some gaining idea that kept the student from recognizing the dysfunctional setup.

Second, and this may be my own projection, many of us, and I would guess at least some of those whose stories are here, grew up in America at a time when conventional authority was being radically deconstructed. Yet, we did not always see what lingered in our own shadows--yearning for authority, yearning to be authority, yearning to be whole. Zen life offered us (still does, too) the chance to be part of something good and truly useful to ourselves and others. Students and teachers alike really wanted to believe that. But for most of us, Zen and community were very new. So victimization is not surprising. What we do about it is another question. My faith is in the wisdom of open community, not charismatic leaders.

I will stop here. I look forward to our meeting.

Teacher II:

I noticed that I resonated with some stories more than others, and, within each story, more at some times than others. One factor seemed to be the degree to which the writer was able to recognize, describe, and own her experiences and feelings, and further, her participation in the creation of these painful events. Those who seemed solely to blame their teacher evoked less empathy in me. Black-and-white accounts also evoked less resonance, while those which acknowledged the positives as well as the negatives, both early on in the training--what the practice did for them--as well as later, painful events, evoked more understanding responses and interest. They seemed more real. It's not that I couldn't or didn't want to feel the pain of the person, the bitter rage or hurt. Rather there seemed to be a certain mode of experiencing and expression which was more black-and-white, and which I imagined permeated the person's experience of other aspects of her life as well.

Several accounts really drove home the power of the wounding that comes from teachers' narcissistic modes of relating to students. These again were the accounts which were more balanced and descriptive and less anchored solely in a "victim-stance." What also emerged vividly through several accounts was the outrageous way the Dharma teachings were used to mystify, ignore, twist, intimidate, shame and blame the student when she asked very reasonable questions! It was painful to read, and made me very angry. Those accounts which

raised questions interested me, again, because they didn't foreclose the field, but showed that this dreadful process really had led to a deep process of self-reflection and opened the person to their own dynamics and participation, including, of course, facing their pain and rage, but somehow also leaving them more open to thinking about difficult questions beyond their own experience, regarding the process of teaching, being a student, authority, etc.

Lastly, the theme of idealization emerged throughout. It is not a simple question. Some of it is implicit I think in helper-helpee relationships. How it is held by the teacher, and whether it is exploited to his gain is a key variable. There is more but I will leave it for the discussion.

Teacher III:

Robby:
The sub-text in Robby's story is her fear of authority. I am struck by how much the significant wounding of her childhood and early adulthood led her to be especially vulnerable to the kind of authority her first Zen teacher took. I am most struck by the softening of importance and harm she expresses in her opening sentences and the clear description of betrayal and harming in her description of her experience as a practitioner. She takes on so much responsibility for what happened to her.

Morgan:
I find her story heartbreaking. She has exhibited an unusual degree of willingness to look at her own part in the betrayals she experienced. What does not come out in her story but which I know subsequently is that she has become a remarkably creative meditator in regard to her ability to turn toward and dismantle even the terrible experiences and reactions she experienced over the course of time that her story covers. She is an example of someone with a remarkable strength, psychologically and spiritually, who has survived and in fact found a way to use her experiences of great harming. I think she is rare in this regard.

Pat:
18 years of "Zen practice"??? I feel a deep heartache. His closing words about betrayal suggest to me that he still does not understand that he is blaming himself for being vulnerable to the teacher in the ways he was.

Lauren:
"I have not had another teacher since." The terrible consequence of betrayal which Lauren understands quite fully and with great subtleness is that he has little confidence in

his own understanding of Zen, of his ability to meditate. So in the end he has no confidence in his spiritual ground. I feel especially terrible because I was one of the people who supported the roshi being described here. It took me years to see clearly the harm this teacher caused to me and to virtually everyone in our sangha. Lauren and Pat's stories are especially painful for me in the face of my own blindness in the situation over a number of years.

Lee:
I find Lee's story horrible in the harming and blindness of it all. Her description of seeing how she wanted to be saved by someone else is crucial but hardly a justification for the teacher's behavior. In many ways I find her story especially sad because she not only lost a teacher and spiritual friends but she lost the Dharma and the possibility to have a good teacher. The baby thrown out with the bathwater. Her question: "What do we do about this?" rings deeply for me and has for a long time. What can we do? What will be effective to stop this kind of harming by teachers?

Chris:
I think Chris's story is easy to miss. The betrayal, the harming is less obvious, but is nevertheless harmful. And the kind of doubt that she carries from her experience with the teacher in question pervades her on-going efforts to have an authentic spiritual practice. I think her pain is easy to miss.

I find your story particularly important since it is the story of so many people who are not overtly betrayed by sexual abuse but betrayed in the details of the student/teacher relationship. The harming that comes from a teacher who becomes isolated and unwilling to be in a feedback loop is clear. And the effect of terrible self-doubt especially in your spiritual practice is both astounding and heartbreaking for me.

Because I have sat with people who have been in harmful relationships with their spiritual teachers for a number of years I sometimes do not realize how much I still deeply resonate with the suffering I see and hear. So I read the eight stories in one sitting. In the days after--for close to a week--I felt a terrible physical and heart-heaviness and grief. I found the stories coming into dreams at night. The amount of suffering a teacher can effect must enter into the awareness of both teachers and students. How will we do that, build that necessary awareness?

Teacher IV:

This was very painful material to read; the shadow of our Zen experience. While I've been fortunate to have had an essentially healthy relationship with my teacher of 28 years,I've been aware of wounding at other centers and impressed by how long healing--if it does happen--takes. I concur with Caryl's closing words, that our community needs to look at the phenomenon of betrayal, as we are all in it together.

I think of two roots to the problem, one in Zen itself and the other in our cultural response. Even though we say repeatedly that no beliefs can stand on their own, that we "kill" the Buddha if we meet, beliefs/attitudes sneak up on us. Brian Victoria's book is a shocking example of how Zen effort was misused during World War II, by some of our most respected ancestors. There is a way in which we wipe the field clean (rather extreme examples were cited in the thesis, reports of students being told to "just sit" and rely on the teacher). Precepts and common sense are shrugged off in the service of the Great Matter and we are rendered vulnerable and instructed to be helpless to the teacher's instructional methods.

The second root is in the newness of our practice and our collective greed for enlightenment. When I began to practice, there was a feeling of breakthrough just around the corner if we sat hard enough, surrendered completely, etc. We did not really appreciate the slow, beautiful lifetime nature of practice. Additionally, the few teachers around who came from Asia seated themselves as beloved figures at the top of the community apex. We had a very naive understanding of sangha.

I resonate with a quote I heard from Thich Nhat Thanh that the next Buddha may be sangha. All the stories reflect failure of the sangha as well as of teacher and student. I think the Bay Area Zen community's emphasis on tenaciously building good sangha process is the resolution to the problem of betrayal. Developing ethical guidelines with mechanisms for implementation, inviting consultants to regularly assist with group process, using mental health consultants when personal problems hinder community, rotating teachers through positions, requiring the teacher and community to work in concert, nourish a ground in which betrayal cannot easily flourish. Of course such process is not possible in smaller sanghas, but the model and expectations raised can be influential.

The reports sadly document the failures of our Dharma beginnings. Even those of us who are relatively unscathed can sense their validity. Asian teachers are often surprised by

Americans' low self esteem. As I read the material, I was repeatedly struck by how manifestly strong and competent people can be laid so low in this area. I jotted down some ways in which we are willing to take on "victim mentality." In our ready masochism we are all too willing to sacrifice balance and the middle way for the "trip down," for "getting to the bottom of all this," for allowing our own experience to be discounted, for blind projection in handing ourselves over to another in order to be saved. We are often grimly willing to abandon ourselves.

The stories of betrayal were both subtle and powerful. Reading them, I am clear--and this is a good lesson to me--that the basic form of betrayal is when the teacher does not recognize the student. This can happen of course in slight as well as catastrophic ways. To some degree it is inevitable and we must always look to the sangha for balance. What teacher over many years does not walk on the edge of inflation or at least carelessness or over-habituated custom? It is challenging for teachers to recognize and attend to their own human needs without "using" others. We <u>are</u> all in this together and must find ways of communicating our collective experience so that the Dharma finds its firm footing on our shore.

Appendix J

GLOSSARY

Brahma-vihara -- divine states of dwelling; the practice of the four states of limitless loving kindness, limitless compassion, limitless joy, and equanimity.

dana -- voluntary gifts, alms, donations, [often money in the U. S.] given by Buddhist practitioners to teachers and ordained people out of gratitude [sometimes for services rendered] and with the recognition that it is needed for living expenses [sustaining life.]

dependent co-arising -- the simultaneous arising of all things, inter-dependent and inter-connected

Dharma -- The cosmic law underlying our world. The teaching of the Buddha that expresses the universal truth. Manifestation of reality.

dokusan -- short, private talks between a teacher and a student, usually in a small room set aside for that purpose, for purposes of private instruction and to give the student and opportunity to show her/his understanding and progress. It a place for the student to be completely open and honest towards the master.

dukka or duhkha -- suffering, everything that is subject to rising and passing away.

han -- a hanging wooden block used in Zen monasteries, on which a rhythm is beaten as a reminder that time waits for no one.

Indra's net -- the image of interconnectedness that keeps all aspects of the cosmos in relationship.

karma -- the universal law of cause and effect, the effect of an action determined mainly by the intention of the action.

kensho -- a Zen expression for the experience of enlightenment or awakening when a person sees into the nature of things/of the universe, into one's own true nature. It is often translated as Self-realization or satori.

koan -- a phrase or teaching pointing to the ultimate reality. Paradox is essential to the koan. To grasp the meaning of the koan, one must go beyond thinking to that which transcends the logical/conceptual. A leap to another level of comprehension is necessary to "solve" the koan.

nirvana -- here in the Mahayana sense of oneness with the absolute, dwelling in the experience of the absolute, freedom from attachment to illusions, affects, and desires.

precepts -- a set of "commandments" much like the biblical 10 commandments which make up a "moral code" for Buddhist practitioners.

Roshi -- Jap. "venerable master"; title of a Zen master.

sangha -- as used here, and often throughout the West, means the practice community surrounding a teacher. It can mean the larger Buddhist community including lay and ordained practitioners, or the narrower community of ordained monks and nuns. It can be used to refer to all the enlightened ancestors.

satori -- Zen term used for the experience of awakening; used here interchangeably with kensho [see above.] Sometimes used to name the Buddha's deep enlightenment, or the deeper understanding arrived at after long practice and study.

sensei -- teacher.

sesshin -- days of intense, strict meditation practice held periodically at Zen monasteries at regular intervals.

zabuton -- the padded mat on which the meditation cushion is placed

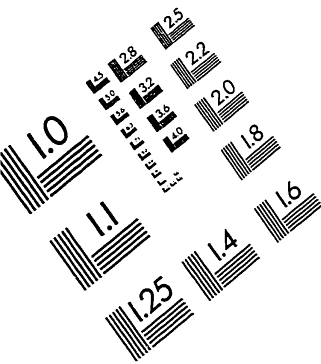
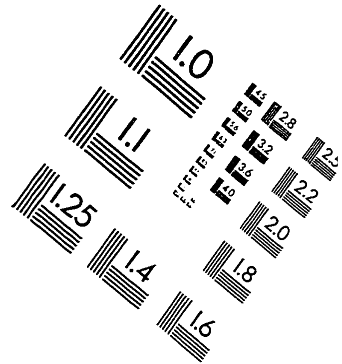
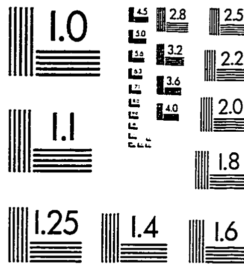
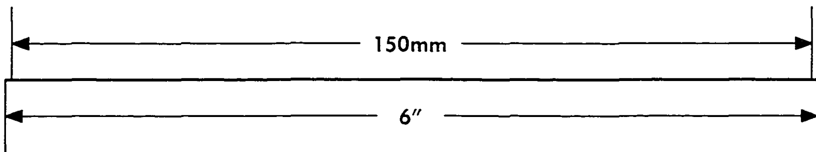
zafu -- round, sitting meditation cushion

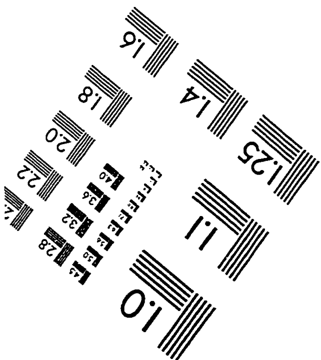
zazen -- the practice of sitting meditation; "object-less" contemplation or concentration; thought-free, wakeful attention.

zendo -- the room or Zen hall in which sitting meditation is practiced, often expanded to mean the building(s) or center itself.

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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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